

10 15 13 c  
*Ecclesiae Primitivæ Notitia :*

O R, A

S U M M A R Y

O F

Christian Antiquities :

Giving an Account,

- |                                                                         |                                                                                                             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I. Of Christians in general, their Names, &c.                           | VII. Of Baptism, Confirmation, their Rites, &c.                                                             |
| II. Of the Clergy in particular, their Orders, Offices, Privileges, &c. | VIII. Of the Primitive Liturgies, and Set Forms of Prayer.                                                  |
| III. Of the Asceticks, and the Original of Monks.                       | IX. Of the <i>Missa Catechumenorum</i> , and its several Parts.                                             |
| IV. Of the Antient Churches, their Original.                            | X. Of the <i>Missa Fidelium</i> , or the Communion Service; with the Preparation required to the Communion. |
| V. Of the Districts of Antient Churches.                                | XI. Of the Unity and Discipline of the Antient Church, &c.                                                  |
| VI. Of the first Use of Creeds in the Church.                           |                                                                                                             |

To which is prefix'd,

An INDEX HÆRETICUS ;

Containing a short Account of all the *Principal Heresies*, since the Rise of Christianity.

There is also added,

A Brief Account of the Eight First GENERAL COUNCILS.

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The SECOND VOLUME.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for E. Bell, J. Darby, A. Bettefworth, F. Fayram,  
J. Pemberton, J. Hooke, C. Rivington, F. Clay, J. Bat-  
ley, E. Symon, M, DCC. X XII.



Each of the Primitive Nations :

OF A

# SUMMARY

OF

## Christian Antiquities :

By the same Author.

- I. Of the Christian Religion, in general, under VII. Of the Christian Confession, and the Sacraments.
- II. Of the Christian Ministry, in general, and the Sacraments of Penance, and the Eucharist.
- III. Of the Christian Ministry, in particular, and the Sacraments of Penance, and the Eucharist.
- IV. Of the Christian Ministry, in particular, and the Sacraments of Penance, and the Eucharist.
- V. Of the Christian Ministry, in particular, and the Sacraments of Penance, and the Eucharist.
- VI. Of the Christian Ministry, in particular, and the Sacraments of Penance, and the Eucharist.
- VII. Of the Christian Ministry, in particular, and the Sacraments of Penance, and the Eucharist.



## AN INDEX TO THE SUMMARY

Containing references to all the Books, and Chapters, and Sections, of the Summary.

A full Account of the Author's Life, and of his Works, in general, and of this Summary, in particular.

The Second Volume.

LONDON.

Printed for E. Delf, at the Sign of the Anchor, in St. Paul's Church-yard, near the North Gate. By J. Delf, at the Sign of the Anchor, in St. Paul's Church-yard, near the North Gate. By J. Delf, at the Sign of the Anchor, in St. Paul's Church-yard, near the North Gate.



T O

*Sir Richard Blackmore, Kt.*

*Most Honour'd Sir,*

**H**AVING dedicated the first Volume of this Work to the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; I hope you will not take it amiss, if I presume to address the second to your **WORSHIP** for your Protection.

How great a Patron of the Christian Religion you have been, and still are, against the most inveterate Enemies of it; your former as well as your later Works abundantly demonstrate. These are your Glory, and these will be a lasting Monument to your Praise; tho you did not shine with the greatest Lustre among the most celebrated Sons of *Æsculapius*.

Whether Physicians were of any Religion has been formerly disputed: But the late Attack your Learned Pen has made upon the *Arians*, has given the World the clearest Evidence, that our Age has produced one Physician at least, who is of the soundest Principles, Orthodox in his Faith, and a strenuous Defender of the true Primitive, Catholick and Apostolical Doctrines.

'Tis this, Sir, has embolden'd me to make this Tender to your Worship, tho wholly unknown: 'Tis this makes me hope Protection from you, for the second Part of an Abridg-

ment of a Work, whose Author has merited eternal Honour by his Endeavours to settle Primitive Christianity in a true Light, and shew thereby how close and bright a Copy our own Religion is of the Original Christian Model.

Unless we can be certain of the Original Usages of the first Christians, it will be impossible to distinguish who are now Primitives, and who not; who are near Resemblances of the Archetype, and who are of a different Model from it. To ascertain those has been the main Scope of Mr. *Bingham's* Undertaking: This he had in view at the beginning: This he has follow'd closely thro the various Parts, and this he has happily compleated in the End. But why do I mention these Things to you, who know them far better than I can ever pretend to do?

The Reception Mr. *Bingham's* CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES in particular have found in the World (for I cannot say that all his Works have met with the like Acceptance) has been such, as make me hope a Copy of them in Miniature may find a favourable Protection from your Worship; and so much the more, because it comes from a Person who bears almost the same Name, and whose Family is entituled to the very same *Insignia*; tho their Fortune has not been so very favourable to them. But I only just mention this as a Motive to induce you to a kind Acceptance of this Piece, which is humbly dedicated to You by

Your Worship's

April the 27th,  
1722.

most obedient

humble Servant,

A. B.

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*Ecclesiastical*



## *Ecclesiastical Antiquities.*



### B O O K XIII.

*General Observations relating to Divine  
Worship in the Antient Church.*



#### C H A P. I.

*Some necessary Remarks upon the antient  
Names of Divine Service, which modern  
Corruptions have render'd ambiguous.*



CHRISTIANS being introduc'd into the Church through the various Steps of their Catechumenship, and Baptism and Confirmation, we come next to view their Practice in the Worship of God after their Admission, and see how they performed the several Offices of Divine Service in their religious Assemblies. And this will fall under those two Heads of *Missa Catechumenorum* and *Missa Fidelium*, the Service of the Catechumens, and the Service of the Communi-



## Book XIII.

The *Missa Catechumenorum* comprehended all that part of the Service which preceded the Common Prayers of the Communicants at the Altar, that is, the Psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, Sermon, and particular Prayers that were made over the Catechumens and other Orders of Penitents, Energumens, &c. before they were dismissed. To this Part of Divine Service all Orders of Men were admitted, the antient Rules of the Church not prohibiting any one to enter the Church and hear the Word of God, whether he be *Gentile, Jew, or Heretick*, till the Service of the Catechumens was ended, which was as soon as the Sermon was finished. The reason for this general Admission of all sorts of Men was, because they had learnt by experience that by the Bishop's preaching many had been brought over to the Faith; and *Sozomen* particularly observes of *St. Chrysostom*, that by this means many of those who heard him in the Church were brought over to acknowledge the Divinity of Christ. But as soon as the Sermon was ended, the Deacon was wont to call to the Heathens and Hereticks, if any such were present, to be gone; μή τις τῶν ἀκροαμένων μὴ τις τῶν ἀπίστων let none that are only Hearers, none of the Unbelievers be present. After this followed the Prayers for the Catechumens of the Order called *Prostrators*; and after their dismissal Prayers for the *Energumens*; and after them the Prayers for the Candidates for Baptism; and last of all, the Prayers for the Penitents: all which was included in the general Name of *Missa Catechumenorum*, the Service of the Catechumens, or Ante-Communion Service. After this was ended, another Proclamation was usually made by the Deacon to all Orders of *Non-Communicants* to withdraw: οἱ ἀκοινῶνιστοι περπατήσατε, ye that cannot communicate walk off, and be gone; let no Catechumen be present, no Hearer, no Infidel, no heterodox or heretical Person, as the Author of the *Constitutions* words it. And *St. Chrysostom* acquaints us, he was used to add farther, ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους, Ye that are Communicants,

Conc. Valentin.  
Can. 1.

Sozom. l. 8. c. 2.

Constit. l. 8.  
c. 5.

Ibid. l. 8. c. 12.

Chrys. Hom. 1.  
con. Jud. tom. 1.  
p. 440. & Hom.  
37. tom 6. p. 375.

## Of the antient Names of Divine Service.

3

Chap. I.

*Communicants*, discern and know one another ; see that there be no Catechumen, none of those that cannot eat of the Sacrifice, no Spy, no one that cannot see the heavenly Blood shed for the Remission of Sins, no one unworthy of the living Sacrifice, no unbaptized Person, no one that may not touch the tremendous Mysteries with his polluted Lips. After this solemn Proclamation, the *Missa Fidelium*, or Communion Service began, so called because none might be present at it but *Communicants* only, as appears from these solemn Forms of dismissing all others before it began.

Hence then we cannot but observe how shamefully they have abused the antient Name *Missa* under the Appellation of *Mafs*, who apply it only to denote the Office of consecrating Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, and offering that for an expiatory Sacrifice for the quick and dead. For antiently it was a general Name for any part of divine Service, being often used for the Psalmody, Lessons, or Evening-Prayers, which therefore the Emperor *Leo* calls, *μῦσας ἱερουργίας*, and Bishop *Usher*, *vespertinalis Missa*. *Mabillon* very judiciously remarks, that the word *Missa* has at least three Significations, being sometimes put for the Lessons, sometimes for the Collects or Prayers, and sometimes for the dismissal of the People ; which third Sense is the original Notation of the word, as Cardinal *Bona*, another eminent Writer of the *Roman* Communion, very fully proves from several antient Ritualists, in opposition to some learned men, who labour to deduce its Original from foreign Languages, to make it signify something agreeable to the modern Notion of the *Roman Mafs* : which is so plainly of *Latin* Extraction, agreeably to the Form used in the *Latin* Church, *ite, missa est*, or *missio est*, and answers so well to the *Greek* ἀπολύεσθε and ἀπολύνεσθε, the solemn words used at the dismissal of the several Orders of Christians in the respective Services of the publick Assemblies.

Leo Tactic. c.  
11. n. 18.  
Usher's Religion  
of the Irish.  
Mabill. de Curs.  
Gallic. l. 2. p.  
107 & 393.

Bona Rem. Li-  
turgic. l. 1. c. 1.  
n. 6.

## Book XIII.

Hieron. Ep. 7.  
ad Lazarum.

Hilar. in Psal.  
140. p. 330.

Euseb. de Laud.  
Const. Orat.  
p. 659.

Scromat. 7.  
p. 860.

Another general Name of the antient Service, which in later Ages hath met with some Abuse, is *Sacrificium*, Sacrifice, a Name borrowed from the Jewish carnal Sacrifices, and applied to the spiritual Sacrifices of Christians, viz. their Prayers and Praises, and preaching, and devoting themselves entirely, Body and Soul, to the Service of Christ by the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Hence every Part of Divine Worship had the Name of Sacrifice as well as the Service of the Altar. Thus St. *Jerom* bids *Lara* accustom her Daughter not only to the Morning Hymns and daily Hours of Prayer, which were the third, sixth and ninth, but also when Night comes, and the Lamps were lighted, to render to God her Evening Sacrifice. And so St. *Hilary* upon those words of the Psalmist, *let the lifting up of my hands be an Evening Sacrifice*, says, The Sacrifice of Christians is their Prayers recommended to God by stretching forth their hands to relieve the poor: For we, says he, upon whom the Ends of the world are come, do not sacrifice to God with Blood or Burnt-Offerings; but the Evening Sacrifice which is pleasing to God, is that which Christ teaches in his Gospel, *I was an hungry, and ye fed me; thirsty, and ye gave me drink, &c.* Matt. 25. This is the Evening Sacrifice, that is, the Sacrifice of the last times: In this we are to lift up our hands; for by such Prayers the Inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven is prepared for those that are blessed of God from the Foundation of the world. In the same Sense *Eusebius* calls the Prayers of Christians the rational Sacrifices that are offer'd without Blood to God. And to name no more, *Clemens Alexandrinus* says, The Sacrifices of Christians are their Prayers, and Praises, and reading of the Scriptures, and Psalms and Hymns before Meals, and at their Meals, and at Bed-time, and in the Night.

Another Name, tho neither so antient nor so common as the former, is that of *Sacramenta*; by which some Authors signify not what we now call *Sacraments*, but the Order and Manner of performing

performing Divine Offices, and that as well the Prayers and Service in general, as the particular Offices of administering Baptism and the Lord's Supper. In this Sense it is observed by learned Men, that the Book of Divine Offices compos'd by *Gregory the Great* for the Use of the *Roman Church*, bears the Title of *Liber Sacramentorum*, the Book of Sacraments, that is, a Book or Method for performing Divine Offices in the Church. And it is believed that both *St. Austin* and *St. Ambrose* give the Name of *Sacramenta* to the Books of Liturgick Offices used in their time. Thus *Gelasius's Codex Sacramentarius*, and *Musa's Vo-lumen Sacramentorum*, and the old *Missal* published by *Illyricus* by the Name of *Ordo Sacramentorum*, were Books of Divine Offices directing what Hymns, Prayers, Praises and Lessons were to make up the Service of the Church.

Menard, Nor. in Sacram.  
Gregor. p. 1.  
Stillingeet Orig. Brit. p. 225.

Ibidem.

Gennad. de Scriptor. c. 79.

Menard, Stillingeet.

By other Writers these Offices are stiled *Cursus Ecclesiasticus*, the Order or Course of Divine Offices. Under this Title *Gregory Turonensis* composed a Book for the Use of the *Gallican Church*; and Bishop *Usher* says, that *Germanus* and *Lupus* brought *Ordinem Cursus Gallorum*, the *Gallican Liturgy*, into *Britain* with them; which continued for some Ages, till by degrees the *Cursus Romanus* was brought in upon them. Under this Title the Council of *Calcuth* afterwards speaks of our *Liturgy*, ordering all Churches at the Canonical Hours reverently to perform their *Cursus*.

Hist. l. 10.

Usher de primor. eccl. p. 185.

Can. 7. Conc. tom. 6. p. 1865.

The *Greeks* usually stile all holy Offices and Parts of Divine Service by the general Name of *Λειτουργία* and *ἱεργία*, Liturgy and Sacred Service: which Name, tho in its extended Sense Ecclesiastical Writers often apply both to Civil and Sacred Functions; yet in a more limited Sense it is put to signify those sacred Offices which make up the several Parts of Divine Worship, but it is never used, as the *Romanists* would appropriate it, for the Business of sacrificing only. Thus *St. Paul* calls his preaching of the Gospel by the name of *ἱεργία*, and the

Casaubon Exer. in Baron. 16. n. 41.  
Conc. Ephes. Justin, Nov. 7. &c.

Rom. 15. 16.



Book XIII. Conversion of the *Gentiles* thereby, the offering them up or sacrificing them to God. And St. *Basil* gives the Names of ἱερωγία and Θυσία, to the Duty of Praise and Thanksgiving, *I will offer unto thee the Sacrifice of Praise.*

But as the *Latins* by their Names of *Missa*, *Cursus*, *Ordo*, &c. mean not only the Divine Worship itself, but also the Books containing the Method and Prescriptions for the regular Performance of it, which we usually call, set Forms of Prayer; so the *Greeks* sometimes understand the same thing by the name of *Liturgy*, and that not only when they speak of the Forms of administering the Sacraments, but of any other Parts of divine Service. So *Casaubon* observes that all those Forms of Worship which go under the Names of *Peter*, *James*, *Andrew*, *Chrysostom* and *Basil*, call'd by the antient *Greeks* νόμοι ὑψῶν διατάξεις, and by the modern ἀκολουθία, bear the name of *Liturgies*.

There is one general Name more which the first Writers used to denote all sorts of publick Prayers; but the middle Ages have appropriated to a particular Form of Worship, and that is *Litanies*, in *Greek* called Ἀσπερίαι and Αἶται, in *Latin*, *Supplicationes* and *Rogationes*. Thus *Eusebius* speaking of *Constantine's* Custom of making his solemn Addresses to God in his Tent before he went to Battle, says, that he endeavour'd to render God propitious to him by Supplications and *Litanies*, that he might obtain his Favour, Assistance, and Direction in his Enterprizes: And again, that a little before his Death he spent some time in the House of Prayer, making Supplications and *Litanies* to God. And so St. *Chrysostom* uses the word *Litany*, when he says to the People, To-morrow I shall go forth with you to make our *Litany*, i. e. the publick Service. So that these and other Places shew that at first it was a general Name, and intended no particular sort of Prayers. And when they were first introduced in the new limited Sense, is not very certain. Some are of opinion that *Mamercus* Bishop of

Vienne

Exercit. in Ba-  
ron. n. 41. p. 472.

Vir. Constant.  
lib. 1. c. 14.

Ibid. l' b. 4. c. 61.

Hom. Tom. 4.  
p. 965.

*Vienne* in *France* was the first Inventer of them about the Year 450. but *St. Basl* says they were somewhat earlier: And *Sidonius Apollinaris* is very expresse that they were in being before, tho not observed with such Solemnity, nor fixed to any stated times, but used only as exigencies required to deprecate any impending Judgment. As to *Mamercus*, he calls him the Author of the Rogation Days before *Ascension*, which were observed with Fasting and Praying, and Singing and Weeping; and from his time we are sure that these Rogation Days and *Litanies* were celebrated with great Solemnity in the Church. The first Council of *Orleans*, Ann. 511. established them by a Decree, ordering the three Days before *Ascension* to be kept a Fast with Abstinence after the manner of *Lent*, and with Rogations or *Litanies*, and that on these Days Servants should rest from their Labours. In the *Spanish* Churches they deferred these Rogations to the Week after *Pentecost*, keeping to the old Rule of the antient Church, not to have a Fast during the fifty Days between *Easter* and *Whitsontide*. The fifth and sixth Councils of *Toledo* order'd a Litany and Fast to be celebrated yearly for three Days; and in the seventeenth a more general Decree was made, that such Litanies should be used in every Month throughout the Year: And so by degrees these solemn Supplications came to be used weekly on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, the antient Stationary Days, in all Churches.

In the mean time *Gregory the Great* instituted some such Rogations at *Rome*: One of which was called *Litania Major*, which was a distinct, complete, and common Service adapted to a particular Season or extraordinary Occasion, not supposed to be greater than those which *Mamercus* instituted; but it might probably take that name to distinguish it from that known *Latin* Form of *Kyrie Eleison*, in the *Greek* *κὲν ἐλεῖσθαι*, *Lord have mercy upon us*, or *them*, if they were praying for others; which was a short Form of Supplication, and had the Nature of a *Litany*, and might therefore

Chap. 1.

Ep. 63.

Sidon. lib. 7. Ep.

1. Ibid. lib. 5.

Ep. 14.

Conc. Aurel. 1.

Can. 29.

Strabo de Offic.

Eccl. cap. 28.

Conc. Toled. 5.

Can. 1.

— 6. Can. 2.

— 17. Can. 6.

Greg. lib. 11.

Ep. 2.

lib. 7. Ep. 64.

## Book XIII.

Conc. Moguntin.  
Can. 32.

Greg. *ibid.*  
Strabo de Offic.  
Ecclef. cap. 28.

Lip. 5. Ep. 7.

Conc. Mogunt.  
Can. 33.

Hom. de Lita-  
niis.

be stiled *Litania Minor*. These greater Litanies were sometimes termed *Exomologeses*, *Confessions*, because Fasting, and Weeping, and Mourning, and Confession of Sins were usually joined with Supplication to avert God's Wrath, and reconcile him to a sinful People.

To these solemn Supplications sometimes were added Processions. Thus Gregory's *Litania Major* was also called *Septiformis*, because he order'd the Church to go in Procession in seven distinct Classes; first the Clergy, then the Laymen, next the Monks, after them the Virgins, then the married Women, next the Widows, and last of all the Poor and the Children. These Processions at first had nothing of Harm or Superstition in them; for they were only of the same nature with their Processions at a Funeral, when they carried the Corpse with the Solemnity of Psalmody to its Interment. They sometimes made their Processions, and sometimes their Litanies, as occasion required, in the open Field; but here was no Pomp of Relicks, nor exposing of the Eucharist to Adoration; in such Solemnities they only carried the Cross, as they did also in some of their Night-Processions for Psalmody, as the Badge of their Profession, before them. And what is farther remarkable in these Solemnities is, that if any appeared in Pomp unsuitable to the occasion, dress'd up in gay Clothing, which *Sido- nius* calls *castorinus ad Litanias*, and on horse-back, it was not only noted as a great Absurdity, but prohibited by Canons to make such appearance at the *Rogation* Solemnities, and that they should rather discalceate in Sackcloth and Ashes, unless they had the Excuse of Infirmary to hinder them. For these *Rogations*, as *Eucherius* relates the chief Heads of them in a Sermon on this Subject, were intended to implore God's Mercy in the most humble manner, and with the most ardent Affections of Soul to beseech him to avert all Sickneses, and Plagues, and Tribulations; to repel the Evils of Pestilence, War, Hail, and Drought; to compose the Temper of the Air, so that it may be for the Health

*Devotions paid to each of the Trinity.*

09

Health of Mens Bodies, and Fertility of the Earth; that he would keep all the Elements in due Order and Harmony, and grant Men peaceable Times.

Chap. 28



CHAP. II.

*That the Devotions of the antient Church were paid to every Person of the Blessed Trinity.*



FROM the Names of the antient Worship, our next Enquiry will be into the Object of the Christian Worship, to see what Persons they were to whom they paid their Devotion. And what makes this Enquiry necessary, is the Prevalency of two contrary Errors too much reigning in these latter Ages: One of which asserts that the Father alone was the sole Object of true Divine Worship, and not the Son or Holy Ghost; and the other, that Saints and Angels had also a Share in it. To shew the Falseness of both which Pretences, we shall produce many Proofs and Evidences of the contrary Assertions.

And first, to shew that Christ, as the Son of God, and the second Person of the Ever-blessed Trinity, was the Object of Divine Worship in all Ages, we will begin with the Original of Christian Worship, and carry the Enquiry thro the three first Centuries.

For the first Age, the Scripture is sufficient Evidence of the Christian's Practice. And here not to insist on the Precept of honouring the Son, as they honoured the Father; or the Form of Baptism, in which they are commanded to join the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in one Act of Worship; or the In-



## Book XIII.

Acts 7. 59.

1 Cor. 1. 13.

Acts 9. 14.

1 Cor. 1. 2.

2 Tim. 2. 22.

Rev. 5. 8.--13.

Injunction to believe in the Son as they believed in the Father, with many other Acts of internal Worship peculiar to God alone; we shall only argue from their Example and Practice.

St. Stephen the Proto-Martyr, when he was sealing his Confession with his Blood, breathed out his last in a Prayer to Christ, *Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit*: And again he says, *Lord, lay not this Sin to their charge*. St. Paul professes he never baptized any but only in the Name of Christ; and his common Forms of Blessing were with Invocation of the Name of Christ: *Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ*. And, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all*; as the solemn Forms run almost in all his Epistles both in the Beginning and Conclusion of them. Nay, so common was this Practice, that among other Titles of the Believers at their first rise and appearance in the World, they were distinguished by the Character of those that called on the Name of Christ, or who invoked and worshipped him, before ever the Name of Christian was known in the World. To pass by many other such like Evidences which are obvious to any one that reads the *New Testament*, the Passages in the *Revelation* are very beautiful, where the Church in Heaven and Earth together is represented as offering both Prayers and Hymns to Christ: *When he had taken the Book, the four Beasts and four and twenty Elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them Harps, and golden Vials full of Odours, which are the Prayers of Saints*. And they sung a new Song, saying, *Thou art worthy to take the Book, and to open the Seals thereof; for thou wert slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy Blood out of every Kindred, and Tongue, and People, and Nation, and hast made us unto our God Kings and Priests; and we shall reign on the Earth*. And I beheld, and I heard the Voice of many Angels round about the Throne, and the Beasts, and the Elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thou-

thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a loud Voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive Power, and Riches, and Wisdom, and Strength, and Honour, and Glory, and Blessing. And every Creature which is in Heaven, and on the Earth, and under the Earth, and such as are in the Sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and Honour, and Glory, and Power be unto him that sitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever.

The same Model of the Worship of Christ, begun and settled in the Practice of the Church in the first Age, we shall find continued in those that followed immediately after. *Pliny*, who lived in the beginning of the second Century, and as a Judge under *Trajan* took the Confessions of some revolting Christians, says, They declared to him that they were used to meet on a certain day before it was light, and among other parts of their Worship, sing a Hymn to Christ as to their God; which is a plain Indication of their Worship of Christ on the Lord's day. Not long after this lived *Polycarp*, who joins God the Father and the Son together in his Prayers for Grace and Benediction upon Men: The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ himself, the eternal High-Priest, the Son of God, build you up in Faith and Truth, and in all Meekness, to live without Anger, in Patience, in Long-suffering, and Forbearance, and give you a Lot and Part among the Saints, and to us with you, and to all them that are under Heaven, who shall believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, and in his Father who raised him from the Dead. And so he begins his Epistle; Mercy and Peace from God Almighty, and from the Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied unto you. And when he came to his Martyrdom, he made a Prayer to God at the Stake, concluding it with this Doxology to the whole Trinity, I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee for all things, together with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ thy beloved Son, with whom, unto thee, and the Holy Spirit, be  
Glory

Lib. 10. Ep. 97.

Ep. ad Philip.  
n. 12.

Martyrium Poly-  
carpi, ap. Corel.  
Patr. Apost.  
Tom. 2. p. 199.

**Book XIII.** Glory both now and for ever, World without end. *Amen.* And as soon as he was dead, the Church of *Smyrna* in their circular Letter to other Churches concerning his Sufferings, say, We can never forsake the Worship of Christ who suffered for the Salvation of all those who are saved in the whole World; and again, We worship him as being the Son of God.

*Smyrn. Ep. ap.  
Euseb. lib. 4. c.  
15.*

*Just. Apol. 2.  
P. 56.*

Not long after lived *Justin Martyr*, who in his second Apology, to wipe off the Charge of Atheism brought against them by the Heathens, who objected to them that they had cast off the Worship of God, answers, That they worshipped and adored still the God of Righteousness, and his Son (that came from him, and taught both them, and the Host of good Angels who followed him, and were made like unto him) as also the Holy Spirit of Prophecy. To these they always paid a rational and true Honour, as they always frankly owned to all such as were disposed to learn. And elsewhere he says they could demonstrate, that as they worshipped God the Creator of all things, so with equal reason they worshipped Jesus Christ in the second Place, and the Holy Spirit of Prophecy in the third, knowing Jesus Christ to be the Son of the true God.

*P. 60.*

*Legat. pro Christianis, Bib. Par.  
Tom. 1. p. 76.*

*Athenagoras* answers the Charge of Atheism after the same manner as *Justin* had done before him. We are, says he, no Atheists, who worship the Creator of all things, and his Word that proceedeth from him.

*Min. Dial. p. 88.*

*Minutius Felix*, to another Objection, that they worshipped a crucified Man, answers, That they were mistaken in the Charge; for he whom they worshipped was God, and not a mere mortal Man: Miserable is he whose Hope is only in Man, for his Help is at an end when the Life of Man is extinct.

*Lucian. Philop.  
Paris.*

*Lucian* the Heathen in one of his Dialogues brings in a Christian instructing a Catechumen, who asked by whom he should swear, that he should swear by the God that reigns on high, the Great, Immortal, Heavenly God, and the Son of the Father, and the Spirit proceeding from the Father,

ther, One in Three, and Three in One: Take these for your *Jupiter*; imagine this to be your God. Which evidently shews that *Lucian* had learnt this from the Christian Institutions, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were the Object of their Divine Worship. And elsewhere he objects to them the Worship of their crucified Impostor, as he blasphemously terms our blessed Lord.

Lucian, in Prot. P. 764.

Not long after, *Irenæus*, speaking of the Miracles which the Church wrought in his time, particularly in casting out Devils, says, She did this not by the Invocation of Angels, nor by Enchantments, nor by any other wicked Piece of Curiosity; but by directing her Prayers clean, and pure, and openly to the God over all, and by invoking the Name of Jesus Christ she works Miracles for the Benefit of Men, and not for their Seduction.

Lib. 7. c. 57.

About the same time with *Irenæus* lived *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch*; who tho he doth not expressly mention the Worship of Christ, yet he acknowledges him to be God of God, and says the World was made by him: For when the Father said, *Let us make Man in our own Image*, he spake this to no other but to his own Word and his own Wisdom, i. e. the Son and Holy Spirit, whom he expressly stiles by the Name of Trinity in the Godhead, and says elsewhere that God is to be worshipped.

Theoph. ad Autolyce, lib. 2. p. 130.

In the same Age *Clemens Alexandrinus* is an illustrious Witness of this Practice. For in his Exhortation to the *Gentiles* he stiles him the living God that was then worshipped and adored: Believe, says he, O Man, in him who is both Man and God; believe in him, O Man, who suffer'd Death, and yet is adored as the living God: In the end of his *Paedagogus* he himself addresses his Prayers to the Son jointly with the Father, in these Words; Be merciful to thy Children, O Master, O Father, thou Ruler of *Israel*, O Son and Father who are both one and our Lord. And in the Conclusion of the Book he hath this

Ibid. p. 114. Clem. Protrep. P. 84. Edit. Ox.

Lib. 3. c. 13.

Doxology



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Ibid.

Doxology to the whole Trinity: Let us give thanks to the only Father and Son, to the Son and the Father, to the Son our Teacher and Master, with the Holy Spirit, one in all Respects, in whom are all things, by whom all things are one, by whom is eternal Existence, whose Members we are, whose is the Glory and the Ages, who is the perfect Good, the perfect Beauty, All-wise, and All-just: To whom be glory both now and for ever. *Amen.*

Basil. Cave Hist.  
tor. Literar.  
Vol. I. p. 60.

The Hymn which is by some ascribed to *Athenogenes* the Martyr, who was cotemporary with *Clemens*, was address'd immediately to Christ, and contained this Doxology to the whole Trinity, ὁμολογῶμεν Πατρίτι καὶ Υἱῶν, καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι Θεῷ, We laud the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit of God. And this is a further Instance of the Church's antient Practice in giving Divine Honour and Worship not only to the Father, but to the Son and Holy Ghost.

Acta Andron.  
ap. Baron. An.  
190. n. 26.

*Andronicus* the Martyr, in his Reply to the Heathen Judge, who objected that Christ whom he invoked and worshipped, was a Man that had suffered under the Government of *Pontius Pilate*, says, That they worshipped him indeed, yet not as a mere Man, but God, the Son of God by Nature, and of the same Substance with the Father.

Tertul. Apol.  
cap. 21.

And *Tertullian*, who is the last Writer of the second Age, returns the same Answer to that Objection: He denied not that they worshipped him whom all the World knew to be a Man, and the *Jews* had condemned as a Man: But the Reasons and Foundation of their Worship were, because they knew him to be the true natural Son of God by a spiritual Generation, and therefore called God and the Son of God, because he was of one and the same Essence or Substance. For God was a Spirit, and the Son was Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as Light is of Light. In that manner he was begotten of God, so as to be God and the Son of God, and they were both one. Again, he tells us, That a Christian could pray

Ibid. c. 30.

pray to no other but the eternal, the living and true God; he could not ask such things as they were wont to ask in Prayer of any other but him, from whom he knew he could obtain them, and who alone was able to give them. Now this had been absurd and ridiculous arguing to the Heathens, had not Christians believed Christ to be the eternal, living and true God. Their Arguments might easily have been retorted and charg'd with Contradiction, and they would have stood self-condemn'd by their own Practice, if whilst they were arguing against the Heathen Idols upon this foot, that nothing was to be worshipped but the eternal, living and true God, they themselves had worshipped one who fell short of that Character. Therefore we must conclude that Christians, as 'tis plain from the foregoing Testimonies, did give Divine Worship to Christ in this Age; and did it only upon this Supposition, viz. that he was the eternal, living and true God, as the eternal Son of the eternal Father; and that however they differ'd, as far as it was necessary for a Father and a Son to be distinct, yet they were but one Creator and one God.

In the third Century we have an illustrious Testimony for the Worship of Christ as God, in the Fragments of *Caius*, a Roman Presbyter, preserv'd by *Eusebius*, out of his Book called the *Labyrinth* written against *Artemon*, one of the first who appear'd against the Divinity of our Saviour: where, among many other things, shewing the Novelty of that Heresy, he observes, that antiently many Psalms and Hymns were compos'd by the Brethren, and transcrib'd by the Faithful, setting forth the Praises of Christ as the Word of God, and ascribing Divinity to him. And that such sort of Hymns were used in the Service of the Church, is evident from *Paulus Samosatenensis* his forbidding the Use of such Psalms and Hymns as were used to be sung in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, under pretence of their being the novel Compositions of modern Authors, tho at the same time he suborn'd Women to extol himself

Euseb. l. 5.  
c. 28.

Conc. Antioch.  
Epif. Synod. ap.  
Euseb. l. 7. c. 30.

**Book XIII.** himself as an Angel come down from Heaven : For which insolent Attempt against the Divinity and Worship of Christ, that Heretical Bishop of *Antioch* was anathematiz'd and depos'd.

Dionys. de Pro-  
mis. ap. Euseb.  
l. 7. c. 24.

Basil. de Spir.  
Sanct. c. 90.

A little before this time *Nepos*, an *Egyptian* Bishop, compos'd some such Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Church; which *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* commends as an useful work, for the Edification of the Brethren. And *Dionysius* himself is as much commended by St. *Basil*, for always using this Form of *Doxology*, *To God the Father, and the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, be Glory and Dominion now and for ever, World without end, Amen.*

l. 5. p. 233.

But we have more pregnant Testimonies from the Works of *Origen* in the beginning of this Century. In his fifth Book against *Celsus* he says that all Prayers, Supplications, Intercessions and Thanksgivings are to be sent up to God the Lord of all, by the High Priest who is above all Angels, being the living Word and God. And we can also pray to the Word himself, and make Intercessions to him, and give thanks, and make Supplications to him.

p. 385.

In his eighth Book he more largely asserts the Worship of Christ against the common Objection renew'd by *Celsus*, viz. that the Christians worshipp'd one that had but lately appeared in the world, that they gave immense Honour and Worship to this Upstart, thinking they committed no Offence against God. To which Charge *Origen* replies, not by dissembling, or denying, or diminishing the Worship of Christ, but by asserting it upon such Grounds and Principles, as shew that Father and Son can be but one God; and that to worship two Persons under such Relation and OEconomy of real Father and Son, cannot be to worship two Gods. If *Celsus*, says he, had understood the meaning of this, *I and the Father are one*; or what the Son of God says in his Prayer, *As I and thou are one*; he would never have intagined that we worship any but the God who is over all: for he saith, that *the Father*

is in me, and I in the Father. But that no one may think that in saying this we run over to those who deny the Father and Son to be two Hypostases or Persons, let him consider that which was said, *All they that believed were of one Heart and of one Soul*, that he may understand this, *I and the Father are one*. We therefore worship one God, the Father and the Son; and our reasoning stands still in full force against others: neither do we give Divine Honour to an upstart Being, as if he had no Existence before. For we believe him when he says, *Before Abraham was, I am*; and again, *I am the Truth*. Neither is any of us of so mean and servile Understanding, as to imagine that the Substance of Truth had not a being before the appearance of Christ in the Flesh. Therefore we worship the Father of Truth, and the Son who is the Truth, two Things in personal Subsistence, but one in Agreement, and Consent, and Identity of Will: *ὅσα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πρέσβυα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοιοῖα, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτοῦσι τῇ ἐκδήματι*. So that whoever sees the Son who is the Brightness of the Glory of God, and the express Image of his Person, sees God in him, as being the true Image of God. All which is an illustrious Evidence of *Origen's* Belief, and a clear Explication of the Unity of the Godhead. For he rejects, as inconsistent with a real Trinity, the Unity of Hypostases and Persons, in opposition to the *Sabellians*; but asserts all other kinds of Unity in opposition to the *Arians*, *Marcionites*, *Tritheites*, *Triformians*, and *Cerdonians*. There are other Evidences in *Origen*, which shew that Divine Worship was given to Christ as the Son of God. For not to insist on any more of his Replies to *Celsus's* repeated Charge of worshipping a Man for God, he elsewhere tells us, speaking of the Wisemen who came to worship Christ, that they offer'd Gifts to him suitable to his different Qualities, who was compounded, as one might say, of God and mortal Man; presenting him with Gold as a King, with Myrrh as a mortal Man that should

Lib. 1. p. 46.



**Book XIII.** die, and with Frankincense as a God. In one of his Homilies he addresses Christ in these Words,  
*Hom. 13. in Exod. 25. tom. 1. p. 102.*  
*O Lord Jesus, grant that I may be found worthy to have some Monument of me in thy Tabernacle. I could wish to offer Gold, or Silver, or precious Stones with the Princes of the People; but because these things are above me, let me at least be thought worthy to have Goats-Hair in the Tabernacle of God, only that I may not in all things be found empty and unfruitful.* In another Homily he says,  
*Hom. 1. in Levit. p. 106.*  
*We must pray to the Lord Jesus, and the Holy Spirit, that he would take away that Mist and Darkness which is contracted by the Filth of our Sins, and dims the Sight of our Souls. And again, Let us pray from our whole Hearts to the Word of God, who is the only-begotten of the Father, who reveals him to whom he will, that he would vouchsafe to reveal these things to us.* And many the like Prayers there are in his other Discourses. But most remarkable is that Passage in his Comment to the Epistle to the *Romans*, where he proves Christ to be God from his being called upon in Prayer. The Apostle, he says, in those words, *With all that call on the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ*, declares him to be God whose Name was called upon. And if to call upon the Name of the Lord, and to adore God, be one and the self-same thing, then as Christ is called upon, so is he to be adored: And as we offer to God the Father, first of all, Prayers, so must we also to the Lord Jesus Christ; and as we offer Supplications to the Father, so we do also to the Son; and as we offer Thanksgivings to God, so do we offer Thanksgivings to our Saviour: For the Holy Scripture teaches us that the same Honour is to be given to both, that is, to God the Father and the Son, when it says, *That they may honour the Son even as they honour the Father.*

*Hom. 26. in Numer. p. 271.*

*Hom. 3. in Ezek. in Joan.*

*1 Cor. 1. 2.*

Not long after Origen, lived Novatian at Rome; and Cyprian at Carthage, who both speak of the Prayers of the Church as offer'd up to Christ together

gether with the Father. *Novatian* makes it an Argument of his Divinity, that he is present in all Places to them that call upon him; which belongs not to the Nature of Man, but God. And he argues further from the Church's praying to him as Mediator, which kind of Prayers would be of no use if he were a mere Man; and from our Obligations to fix our Hope on him, which would be a Curse rather than a Blessing if he were not God as well as Man; for *curfed is the Hope that is placed only in Man.*

Chap. 2.  
De Trinit. c. 14.

*St. Cyprian* in like manner speaks in many Places of his being worshipped. In one Book he styles him the Lord God of Hosts, the God of the Christians; and particularly tells us that God the Father has commanded him to be worshipped. In one of his Epistles he speaks of their offering Prayers to him as Mediator, first, and then by him to God the Father, and that upon this double Foundation, that he was their Advocate and Intercessor, and also their Lord and their God.

De bono patient. tit. p. 220.

Ep. 8. al. 11.  
P. 25.

Not long after *Cyprian*, *Arenobius* wrote in vindication of the Christian Worship, telling the Heathens, who had formed their usual Charge against it, that the reason of their worshipping Christ, was indeed their certain Knowledge that he was the true God, whom they could not but worship and honour as the Head of their Body. And tho an angry Heathen would rave at his being called God, yet they must answer plainly that he was God, and God too of the interior Powers of the Soul, *i. e.* the Searcher of the Hearts and Reins, which is the peculiar Property of God.

Lib. 1. p. 30--36.

The same Objection is once more proposed and answer'd by *Lactantius*: They are wont, says he, to object to us his Passion by way of Reproach, that we worship a Man, and one that was put to a notorious Death by Men. In replying to which, after having largely set forth the Reasons of his Incarnation and Sufferings, he at last answers that part of the Objection which concerns their worshipping him, and pleads that

Lib. 4. c. 16.

Ibid. p. 29.

Book XIII. they worshipped him as one God with the Father. For, says he, when we speak of God the Father and God the Son, we do not speak of divers Natures, or separate the one from the other; for neither can he be a Father without a Son, nor the Son be divided from the Father: Forasmuch as he cannot be called a Father without a Son, nor a Son be begotten without a Father. Seeing therefore a Father makes a Son, and a Son makes a Father, they have both one Mind, and one Spirit, and one Substance; but the Father as the Fountain and Original, and the Son as the Stream flowing from the Fountain.

Euseb. lib. 5.  
cap. 1.

Lib. 8. c. 11.

Lib. 10. c. 4.  
p. 375.

p. 376.

Ap. Baron. An.  
302. n. 124.

There is one thing more very memorable in this Age, which was an Age of great Persecution, viz. that the Martyrs who suffered in it, commonly directed their last Prayers, as St. Stephen did, personally to Christ, in whose Cause they laid down their Lives, and into whose hands they resigned their Spirit, commending their Souls to him, as unto a faithful Creator and Redeemer. Thus *Blandina*, a Martyr under *Antoninus*, is said not to be sensible of any Pain while she made her Prayers to Christ, *διὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν*. And the Inhabitants of a whole City of *Phrygia* were burned all together, in the *Dioclesian* Persecution, as they were at their Devotions, calling upon Christ the God over all; *τὸν ἐνὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολογούμενους*. And *Eusebius* himself, who gives us these particular Relations, makes a more general Observation concerning the Worship of Christ, that the highest Powers on Earth confessed and adored him, not as a common King made by Men, but as the true Son of the Supreme God, as the true and very God who had preserved his Church against all the Opposition of so many fierce Persecutions; there being nothing able to withstand the Will of that Word, who was the universal King and Prince of all things, and very God himself. The Title that is given to Christ in the Acts of St. *Felix*, an *African* Bishop and Martyr, runs thus: *O Lord God of Heaven and Earth, Jesus Christ, I bow my Neck to thee*

thee as a Sacrifice who livest to all Eternity: To whom belongs Honour and Power for ever and ever, Amen. And in the Acts of *Thelica*: I give thanks to the God of all Kingdoms, Lord Jesus Christ we serve thee. Thou art our Hope. Thou art the Hope of Christians. Most Holy God, most High God, God Almighty, we give thanks to thee for thy great Name. So again in the Acts of *Emeritus*: I beseech thee, O Christ, I give Thanks to thee; deliver me, O Christ. In thy Name I suffer, I suffer for a moment, I suffer willingly; let me not be confounded, O Christ. Of *Porphyrius*, a Palestine Martyr, *Eusebius* relates, that he gave up the Ghost, being surrounded with Flames, calling upon Jesus, the Son of God, to be his Helper. And St. *Ambrose* tells us, that *Vitalis* the Martyr made this his last Prayer: O Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour and my God, command that my Spirit may be received; for I desire to obtain the Crown which thy Holy Angel hath shewed me

An. 303. n. 41.

An. 303. n. 50.

De Martyr. Palest. c. 11.

Exhort. ad Virgin. tom. 1. p. 103.

It were easy to add many other Testimonies of the like nature, but these are abundantly sufficient to shew what was the Practice of the Church in reference to the Worship of Christ during the three first Ages, before *Arianism* appeared in the World, or any of those difficult Questions were raised, which afterwards perplexed Men with unintelligible Subtleties, occasioned by the restless Endeavours and Sophistry of the *Arian* Party. The Christians of the three first Centuries, in their Disputes with the Heathens, always with a great deal of Plainness and Simplicity, freely owned that they worshipped Christ as their Creator and their God; not as a Creature, but as the true and living God, equal to the Father in all Divine Perfections, as a genuine Son, who as a Son could not be another God, but only one God with the Father. When they spake of religious Worship, they said all religious Worship was solely due to God: And tho they distinguished between *absolute*, *relative*, and *mediatorial* Worship; yet they gave all these to the Son, worshipping him with *mediatorial* Worship,



**Book XIII.** as the only proper Mediator in both Natures between God and Man, beseeching him by his own Merits, as their great High-Priest, to present their Prayers to the Father; and with *relative* Worship as the Son of God, whose Honour redounds to the Father; and with *absolute* Worship as their Creator, and Author of their Being; declaring it to be Idolatry to give any such Honour to a mere Creature. So that either they believed Christ to be the living and true God, or else it is impossible to understand Men by their Words or Practice.

We come now to see whether they gave the same Divine Honour to the Holy Ghost. And for this we need only look back into the former Proofs, many of the preceding Allegations joining Son and Holy Ghost together: *Polycarp's* Doxology, *Justin Martyr*, *Lucian*, *Theophilus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, the Hymn ascribed to *Athenogenes*, and *Dionysius*, were evident Proofs of the Adoration and Worship of the Holy Ghost, as well as of the Son. And to what *Origen* has said on this Head in his former Assertions, may be added another Testimony of his on the first Chapter of *Romans*, where he compares the Practice of the Heathens and Christians: It is the Property of those only to dishonour their Bodies, says he, who serve Idols, and of them only to worship the Creature who have forsaken their Creator. As for us who worship and adore no Creature but the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as we do not err in our Worship, so let us not offend in our Actions and Conversation: but looking to what the Apostle says, *Know ye not that your Bodies are the Members of Christ?* and again, *That your Bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost? Let us keep our Bodies in all Holiness and Purity, as Members of Christ, and as Temples of the Holy Spirit.* Again, the Form of administering Baptism in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, was ever esteemed an Act of Adoration of the Trinity, both as a Profession of Faith

In Rom. i. 15.  
7. P. 468.

Faith in three divine Persons, and as a Dedication of the Party to the Service of the Holy Trinity, and as a solemn Invocation of their Benediction. Chap. 2.

The Author of the *Recognitions*, who lived before *Origen*, says expressly that Baptism was antiently given by Invocation of the Name of the Blessed Trinity: whence the Antients were wont to prove the Holy Ghost to be God, because he was joined in the same divine Worship with the Father and the Son in the Administration of Baptism. Clement. Recognition, lib. 3. c. 57.

*Tertullian*, in opposition to the *Praxeian* Hereticks, who charged all Christians who worshipped three Persons, with the Worship of three Gods, explains how these three are one God by Unity of Original, by Unity of Substance, Condition, and Power; adding, that as the Father was God, so the Son was God, and the Holy Ghost God. And in another Place he says that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost was a Trinity in one Godhead or Divine Nature. Whence it is evident that he had both the Name and Worship of God given him by primitive Writers, and in effect by all Christians in the early Ages, whilst they joined him in all Acts of Divine Worship and Glorification with the Father and the Son as one God. Contr. Prax. cap. 2, 3, 13. De pudic. cap. 21.

*St. Cyprian* expressly styles him God, when disputing against the Validity of heretical Baptism, he uses this Argument; If a Man can be baptized by Hereticks, he may obtain Remission of Sins: If he may obtain Remission of Sins, he may be sanctified, and be made the Temple of God. I ask, of what God? If it be said the Creator, he cannot be his Temple who believes not in him. If Christ, neither can he be his Temple who believes not Christ to be God. If the Holy Ghost, seeing the Three are One, how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him who is an Enemy to the Father or the Son? Ep. 73. ad Jub. p. 203.

Of *Firmilian*, Bishop of *Casarea*, and *Gregory* of *Neo-Casarea*, surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, from his

## Book XIII.

Basil de Spir.  
Sanct. c. 29.

his Power of working Miracles, St. Basil testifies that in their Prayers and Books they were always wont to use this *Doxology*, To God the Father, and his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, be Glory and Dominion forever and ever.

The Author of the *Constitutions* abounds with Sentences expressing the true Worship of the Holy Trinity. In the twelfth Chapter of the eighth Book, the Oblation-Prayer concludes thus: *We beseech thee to gather us into the Kingdom of thy Christ, the God of the whole Nature of things both visible and invisible, and our King: For to thee belongs all Glory, and Worship, and Thanksgiving, and Honour, and Adoration, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, throughout all Ages, World without end.* In the thirteenth Chapter, the Prayer after Consecration ends in the same manner: *By thy Christ, to whom with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be Glory, Honour, and Praise, Doxology, and Thanksgiving for ever and ever.* In the same Chapter all the People sing this Hymn to Christ: *There is one Holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, to the Glory of God the Father. Glory be to God on high, and on Earth Peace, Good-Will towards Men. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed be God the Lord who came in the Name of the Lord, and was manifested unto us: Hosanna in the highest.* In the fifteenth Chapter the Thanksgiving is concluded in these Words: *By Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be Glory, Honour, and Adoration, now and for ever, Amen.* And in the Invocation in the same Chapter, it is said, *To Thee, and thy Son Jesus, thy Christ, our Lord, and God, and King, and to the Holy Ghost, be Glory, Praise, Majesty, Worship, and Adoration, now and for ever, World without end, Amen.* All which, with many other Doxologies in other Prayers throughout this Book, which might easily be repeated, are as plain Instances of the Worship of the Holy Ghost, together with the Father and the Son, as Words can express.

An *African* Canon indeed orders all Prayers at the Altar to be directed to the Father; but *Fulgentius*, an *African* Bishop, and who therefore may be presumed to understand the Meaning of those Canons, says, that all Worship and Adoration of Honour and Sacrifice was equally given to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *i. e.* to the Holy Trinity, by the Catholick Church; and that it was a prejudice to the Son, or the Holy Ghost, that the Minister at the Altar directed the Prayers to the Person of the Father: For in the end of them the Names of the Son and Holy Ghost were always expressed; and that shewed there was no Difference in the Holy Trinity: Because tho the Words were only directed to the Person of the Father, yet the whole Trinity was honoured by the Faith of the true Believer; and whilst the Intention of the Sacrifice was more peculiarly fixed upon the Father, the Sacrifice itself was by one and the same Act offer'd to the whole Trinity. From all which it is evident to a Demonstration, that the three Persons of the Holy Trinity were always the Object of Divine Adoration from the first Foundation of the Christian Church, and that the giving of divine Honour to the Son and Holy Ghost as God was not the Invention or Addition of later Ages.

Conc. Carth.  
lib. 8. c. 16.

Fulgent. ad Mo-  
nim. lib. 2. c. 5.







## C H A P. III.

*That in the antient Church religious Worship was given to no Creature, Saint or Angel, but to God alone.*

**W**E have seen the Truth of the *first* Position, That Christ was religiously worshipped in the Primitive Church, made good from their undeniable Assertions and Practice; we come now to examine the Truth of the *second*, That nothing is to be religiously worshipp'd, but only the living and true God: and this may be shewn these three ways. First, in general from the Antients universal Declaration against giving religious Worship or Adoration to any Creature, or Being, which by Nature is not God. Secondly, From their particular Rejection of the Worship of Saints and Angels as Idolatry, and unlawful. And, Thirdly, From their being no mention made of it, but in the Practice either of Hereticks or Heathens, whose Idolatry is aggravated upon the account of this Practice.

First, The Antients in general declared against giving religious Worship to any Creature, or Being, which by Nature is not God. And here not to mention all that hath been said by them upon this Head, I shall content my self with a few plain Passages out of an infinite number that might be alledged to this purpose.

Apol. 2. p. 63,  
64.

*Justin Martyr* often tells the Emperors, in his Apology, that Christians could worship none but God alone; and that Christ had taught them so, in saying, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve, with all thy Heart, and with all thy Strength, the Lord God that made thee,*

thee. And again, in saying, *Render to Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's*; we therefore worship God alone, but in all other things we chearfully serve you.

In like manner *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, says, I will honour the King, not by worshipping him, but praying for him; but I will worship God, the living and true God, knowing that by him the King is ordained. For the King is not made to be worshipped, but to be honoured with lawful Honour. He is not a God but a Man. And as he will not suffer any other to assume the Title of King, but himself, so neither is it lawful to worship any other but God alone. In another place he says, God's Laws forbid not only the Worship of Idols, but all other Creatures, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, Heaven, Earth, and Sea; and command the Worship of the true God alone, who is the Creator of all things. And the Answers which the Martyrs commonly gave to the persecuting Judges who solicited them to worship other Gods, were in the same strain. Thus when *Fructuosus*, the Martyr, was commanded to sacrifice, he replied, I only worship one God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things that are therein. And so *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, answered *Amilian* the *Præfect*, I have publickly testified, says he, that I worship none but the true God alone, neither can I ever depart from this Practice, or cease to be a Christian. And when he was further urged by the *Præfect* to worship the Gods of the Empire together with his own God, his Answer was still the same, We worship him and no other. There are many the like Expressions in several antient Writers, which may be seen collected in one view in Mr. *Daille's* excellent Book against the Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*.

As to the second Observation, which was, that the Antients not only in general deny the Worship of any Creature, but reject the Worship of Saints and Angels in particular, as Idolatry, and unlawful; there cannot be a plainer Proof of this than was given

Ad Autolych.  
lib. 1. p. 30.

Ibid. lib. 2. p.  
173.

Act. Fructuosi  
ap. Baron. An.  
262. n. 60, &c.

Dionys. Epist. ap.  
Euseb. lib. 7.  
c. 11.

Lib. 1. c. 2, &c.

Ut sup. ap.  
Euseb. l. 4.

Book XIII. given in the Answer of the Church of *Smyrna* to the *Jews* Suggestion of the Christians leaving their crucified Master, and worshipping *Polycarp*, if they could but secure his Body after Martyrdom; which Suggestion, says the Answer, proceeded purely from Ignorance, that we could neither forsake Christ, nor worship any other: For we worship him as being the Son of God; but the Martyrs, as the Disciples and Followers of the Lord, we love with a due Affection for their great Love and Respect of their own King and Master, with whom we desire to be Partners and Fellow-Disciples. A like Answer was given at the Martyrdom of *Fructuosus* before-mentioned, by *Eulogius* his Deacon, to the Judge that asked him whether he would not worship his Bishop. I do not worship *Fructuosus*, but I worship him whom *Fructuosus* worships.

Ut supra, ap.  
Baron.

Lib. 5. p. 233.

*Origen*, in his Answers to *Celsus*, positively denies that ever the *Jews* or *Christians* gave any religious Worship to Angels. He says they are ministring Spirits, that bring the Gifts of God to us, but there is no Command in Scripture to worship and adore them. And, to omit all other Places to the same purport, I shall only recite one Passage more, because it so handsomly meets with that common Pretence of the *Romanists*, that we are to worship Angels because they are the Friends of God: We must endeavour, says he, to please God alone, who is above all things, and labour to have him propitious unto us, procuring his Good-Will with Piety and all kinds of Virtue. And if *Celsus* will yet have us to procure the Good-Will of any others after him who is call'd God over all, let him consider that as when the Body is moved the Shadow follows its Motion; so in like manner, when we have God, who is over all, favourable unto us, it follows that we shall have all his Friends, both Angels, and Souls, and Spirits favourable unto us also: For they have a Fellow-feeling with them that are thought worthy to find Favour from God. Neither are they only favourable to such as are thus worthy, but they labour

Lib. 8. p. 420.

bour with them also that are willing to worship God over all, and are friendly to them, and sympathize with them, and pray with them. So that we may be bold to say, that when Men, who with Resolution propose to themselves the best things, do pray unto God, many thousands of the sacred Powers pray together with them, unspoken to, *ἀκλήστοι*, without any Invocation. And a like Answer is given to the same Pretence, by the Author under the Name of St. *Ambrose*. That neither Men or Angels were the Object of religious Adoration in the time of *Athanasius*, appears further from a Discourse of his against the *Arians*, where he argues thus; *Peter* the Apostle did forbid *Cornelius*, when he would have worshipped him, saying, *I my self also am a Man*. And the Angel likewise did forbid St. *John*, when he would have worshipped him, in the *Revelation*, saying, See thou do it not; for I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets, and of them who keep the Sayings of this Book; worship God: wherefore it belongs to God only to be worshipped. And this the Angels very well know; that tho they excel others in Glory, yet they are all but Creatures, and not in the number of those that are to be worshipped, but of those that worship the Lord. We cannot have clearer Evidences than these either of the Church's Doctrine or Practice; both which are equally attested by St. *Austin*, in his Book of true Religion, where he makes it a distinguishing Character and Property of true Religion, to worship no sort of Creature, particularly neither Angels or Saints after Death, but the Sovereign Majesty of God alone. Let not our Religion, saith he, consist in the Worship of dead Men; because if they lived piously, they are not esteemed such as would desire that kind of Honour, but would have him to be worshipped by us, by whose Illumination they rejoice to have us Partners with them in their Merit. They are therefore to be honoured for Imitation, not to be worshipped for Religion. And in another place

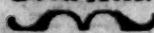
Ambros. in Rom. 1.

Athanas. Orat. 3. cont. Arian. P. 394.

C. 55. Tom. 1. P. 317.



## Book XIII.



place he speaks after the same manner; That which the highest Angel worships, the same is to be worshipped by the meanest Man. We honour Angels with Love, not with religious Service; neither do we build Temples to them, for they desire not to be so honoured by us, because they know that we ourselves, when we are good, are the Temples of the most High God.

Confess. l. 10.  
c. 42.

Thirdly, The antient Church did not give religious Worship either to Saints or Angels, because she condemned the Practise, both in Heathens and Hereticks, and aggravated their Idolatry upon this account. St. *Austin* says, that all such as sought to Angels by Prayer for their Assistance, whom he calls *Angelici*, were distracted with strange Curiosities and Illusions: Whom, says he, should I have found that might reconcile me unto thee, O God? Should I have gone unto the Angels? With what Prayer? With what Sacraments? Many endeavouring to return unto thee, and not being able to do it of themselves, as I hear, have tried these things, and have fallen into the Desire of curious Visions, and were accounted worthy of Illusions. St. *Chrysostom* not only says, that no Creature is to be worshipped by Man, neither of things above, nor things below, whether Man, or Dæmons, or Angels, or Archangels, or any other supernal Powers, but only God the Lord of all; but that it was the Devil which introduced this having recourse to Angels, whilst he envied the Honour of Men: These be the Enchantments of Devils. Tho it be an Angel, tho an Archangel, tho they be Cherubims, endure it not: For neither will those Powers themselves receive it, but reject it, when they see their Lord dishonoured. I have honoured thee, saith God, and bid thee call upon me: And dost thou then dishonour him? Where we see plainly that Invocation of God, and Invocation of Angels, are opposed to one another; and as the one is made the Character of true Religion, so the other is said to be the Doctrine of Devils.

Hom. 5. in Coloss. p. 1381.

From

From *Irenaus* we learn that *Hereticks* were wont to invoke Angels; and from *Tertullian*, that the Followers of *Simon Magus* worshipped Angels in the Exercise of their Magical Art. But to prevent this growing Practice, the Council of *Laodicea* made a severe Canon, wherein Christians are enjoined not to forsake the Church of God, and go aside, and hold Conventicles, to invoke or call upon the Name of Angels; which things are forbidden. If any one therefore be found to exercise himself in this private Idolatry, let him be accursed, because he hath forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and gone over to Idolatry.

Lib. 2. c. 57.  
De Praescrip.  
Cap. 33.

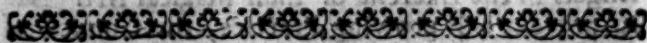
Concil. Laodic.  
Can. 35.

And as the Church condemned Hereticks as guilty of Idolatry for worshipping of Angels, so did she likewise for worshipping of their Leaders and Martyrs, objecting the same to the Heathens for worshipping such Gods as were only dead Men: to which Charge, when the latter pleaded that their Dæmons, or Gods whom they worshipped, were good Angels, and that they worshipped them only as the Ministers of the supreme God, and Attendants of the Court of Heaven; St. *Austin* replies, If you would worship them, they would quickly teach you that they are not to be worshipped: for which he brings in the Angel in the *Revelation* of St. *John*, and then goes on, How is it then, my Brethren? Let no one say, I fear lest the Angel should be angry with me, if I do not worship him for my God. He is then only angry at thee when thou art inclined to worship him; for he is good, and loves God: And as the Devils are angry if they be not worshipped, so the Angels are highly displeased if they be worshipped instead of God. And at last he concludes with this Admonition to the Pagans; Let the Pagans learn to adore God. They have a mind to adore Angels: let them imitate Angels, and adore him whom the Angels adore. No better Admonition than which can be given to the Angel-Worshippers of the present Age, and to imitate the Angelical Practice

In Psalm 96.  
rom. 8. p. 445.

of

Book XIII. of the primitive Church, who had God, and only God, for the Object of their Adoration.



## CHAP. IV.

*That antiently Divine Service was always performed in the Vulgar Tongue understood by the People.*

**H**AVING thus consider'd the Nature and Object of Christian Worship, we come now to speak of the Circumstances and Manner of performing Divine Service. And here it will be proper to examine first in what Language the Antients performed their Worship. As to which, there is nothing more certain in History than that the Service of the antient Church was always performed in the vulgar or common Language of every Country, that is, in such as was either commonly spoken, or at least commonly understood; and so it continued for above a thousand Years in the Church. And it is even monstrous to think, that in so inquisitive an Age as the present is, there should be any Men of Learning to defend, or whole Nations tamely to submit to, the Imposition and Tyranny of the contrary Practice; so absurd and unreasonable in itself; so prejudicial to Devotion; so contrary to the Use of Speech, whose End is Edification; so reproachful to human Nature, as if Men (in *Th. Aquinas's* Comparison) were Asses indeed; so derogatory to the Christian's Birthright; so flatly contradictory to the Apostles Reasoning, and so diametrically opposite to the universal Practice of the Church for so many Ages, as is very fully cleared in an excellent Book of Bishop *Usher* published by Mr. *Wharton*.

That

That Divine Service was performed in the vulgar Tongue of every Nation, *Origen* assures us, when in answer to an Objection of *Celsus*, who charged them with using of barbarous and unintelligible Names and Words in their Prayers, he says, The *Grecians* use the *Greek* Language in their Prayers, and the *Romans* the *Roman*, and so every one in his own Dialect prays to God, and gives thanks as he is able; and the God of all Languages hears them that pray in all Dialects, understanding their different Languages as well as if they all spake with one Tongue.

Orig. contr. Cels. lib. 8. p. 402.

*Justin Martyr* informs us that the Scriptures were first read in their Assemblies to the People, and then the President made a Discourse to them, exhorting them to observe and follow the good Instructions they had heard out of the Prophets and Apostles; which had been an absurd Admonition, had not the Lessons been read in a Language which they understood.

Apol. 2. p. 98.

*St. Jerom* tells us, that at the Funeral of the famous Lady *Parda* the Psalms were sung in *Syriac*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, because there were Men of each Language present at the Solemnity. And that all Offices of the Church might be performed with the Understanding and Edification of the People, *Justinian* in one of his Laws obliged all Bishops and Presbyters to repeat the Prayers with an audible Voice, so as the Minds of the Hearers might be raised to greater Devotion, and stir'd up to glorify the Lord God. And afterwards when in a Dispute among the *Jews*, some of whom being superstitiously inclined, were for having the Law read only in *Hebrew*, tho' not understood by the People, and others were for having it read in *Greek*, or any Language which the People understood, he determined in favour of the latter, that it should be read in *Greek*, or any other Language which the Place where they lived, had made more useful and known to the People.

Hieron. Epitaph. &c.

Novel. 137. c. 6.

Novel. 146.

A farther Evidence of this Matter may be given from all the People being antiently allowed



## Book XIII.

Hom. 71. in  
Mat. p. 624.

Hieron. Epist.

Pafil. Proem.  
in Psalmos.

to join in Psalmody and Prayers, and to make their proper Responses. *St. Chrysostom* speaks of Children praying with the rest of the Congregation for the Catechumens and the Faithful also. And *St. Jerom* speaks of young Virgins being obliged to learn the Psalms, and some Portion of Scripture every Day. And *Basil* observes that Children performed that Office of singing Psalms in common with the rest of the People. And almost in every Part of the Liturgy we shall meet with the Peoples Prayers and Responses. All which suppose the Service to be in the vulgar and known Language, else it were absurd to think that the People should know when and how to make their Responses, or that Children and young Virgins should learn the Psalms and Scripture by heart, and join in Psalmody and other parts of the Service of the Church.

Thirdly, There is nothing more common among the Antients, in their Discourses to the People, than to admonish and exhort them both to hear, and read, and pray with Understanding, Attention, and Fervency of Spirit; which had been very incongruous Admonitions, obliging them to impracticable Rules, had the Lessons and Prayers been in an unknown Tongue. *St. Basil* thus exhorts his People, Thou hast the Psalms, thou hast the Prophets, the Precepts of the Gospel, the Teachings of the Apostles; let thy Tongue sing, and thy Mind search the Meaning of what is spoken, that thou may'st sing with the Spirit, and sing with the Understanding also. And in another Homily he tells them that the Divine Oracles were God's Gifts to the Church to be read in every Assembly, as the Food which the Spirit afforded us for the Nourishment of our Souls: and elsewhere much to the same purpose.

Hom. in Psal. 28.  
tom. 1. P. 154.

In Psal. 59. p.  
253.

Reg. brev. Qu.  
278.

Vid. *St. Chrysost.*

The Fathers in their Sermons frequently referring to the Prayers of the Church, and to the Lessons read before, is a fourth Argument to convince us that both Prayers and Lessons were in a known Tongue, otherwise it were absurd for the Preachers to appeal to their Ad-  
ditors

ditors as well acquainted with them; or argue from thence as Motives grounded on their own Experience, if yet indeed they had no knowledge of them.

A fifth Evidence for this Practice may be had from the Scriptures being translated into all Languages from the first Foundation of Churches. As soon as any Nation that spake an uncommon Tongue was converted, the Church took that pious care immediately to procure a new Version of the Bible into their Language.

*Eusebius* says, the Scriptures were translated into all Languages, both of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, throughout the World, and studied by all Nations as the Oracles of God. *Chrysostom* assures us that the *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, and a multitude of other Nations, translated them into their own Tongues, whereby *Barbarians* learned to be Philosophers, and Women and Children with the greatest ease imbibed the Doctrine of the Gospel. The *Hebrew* Books *Theodoret* tells us were not only translated into *Greek*, but into the *Roman*, *Egyptian*, *Persian*, *Indian*, *Armenian*, *Scythian*, and *Sauromatick* Languages, and in a word into all Tongues used by all Nations in his time; to say nothing of other Tongues in later Ages, of all which Bishop *Usher*, Bishop *Walton*, Dr. *Mills*, and others, have given exact Accounts.

Another plain Evidence of the primitive Practice, was the Privilege and Encouragement that all Christians had to read the Scriptures at home for the Exercise of themselves and Families in private Devotion, and better preparation for the Publick; and this Privilege was never infringed by any but the Heathen Persecutors, who intended to destroy the Name and Faith of Christians, together with their Bibles, out of the World, and therefore made the strictest Search after them, and used all imaginable Art and Force to cause them to deliver them up to be burnt, which they who did were branded with the infamous Name of *Traditores*, *Traitors* and *Betrayers* of their Religion;

De præpar. Evangel. l. 12. c. 1.

Hom. 1. in Jo-  
han. tom. 2.

De Curand. Græ-  
cor. Sect. 5.  
tom. 4.

Usher de sacris  
Ver.  
Walton proleg.  
Mills proleg. &c.

## Book XIII.

a certain Argument that then private Christians had the Use of the Scriptures, else they could not have been impeached for delivering them up to the Enemy. The Fathers of the Church were so far from debarring Men the Use and Enjoyment of the Scriptures, that on the contrary they used all manner of Arguments to induce Men to read and study them, exhorting them not only to hear them with Attention in the Church, but to read them privately at home with their Wives and Families; commending those that studied them, and reproving those that neglected them; making large Encomiums upon the Use and Excellency of them, and requiring Men to peruse them privately as the best Preparation for the publick Service and Instruction; answering all Objections and Pretences that Men could make to the contrary; as that they were ignorant and unlearned, and that the Scriptures were difficult and hard to be understood; that they were only for the use of Monks and Religious, and not for Secular Men, and Men of Business; assuring them that the Scriptures were for the Use of all Men, and that it was the Neglect of them that was the Cause of all Ignorance, Errors, Heresies and Irreligion. St. *Chrysostom* particularly is very full on this Subject, who having answer'd all the several Objections propos'd, says, The Reading of the Scriptures is our great Guard against Sin; our Ignorance of them is a dangerous Precipice, and a deep Gulph. It is an absolute betraying of our Salvation, to know nothing of the Divine Law. It is this that hath brought forth so many Heresies; it is this that hath brought so much Corruption into our Lives, this that hath turned all things into Confusion. Which Words, with variety of the like Passages from this and other Writers, as well irrefragably shew the Care and Concern of the *Primitive* Church, to have the Service of God and the Scriptures understood by all, as they do refute the trifling Pretences of the *Romish* Church, who would lock them up in a Language which the Unlearned do not understand.

Hom. 3. in *Lazar.*  
tom. 5. p. 59; &c.

The

The last Evidence we shall bring for the antient Church's Performance of the Service in a known Tongue, may be taken from the very Form and Tenour of the Ordination of Readers, which was with Prayer to God to qualify them to read his Word to the Instruction and Edification of the the People. The Form of their Ordination in the Book of the Constitutions, prays, That God would give the Reader Wisdom, as he did to *Esdra*s, to read his Laws to the People, which was by giving the Sense of them, and causing the People to understand the reading. *St. Cyprian* in speaking of the Ordination and Office of Readers, intimates that the People understood what they read out of the Gospel to them; and not only so, but some Hearers, we are told, reaped so great Benefit from having the Scriptures read in their own Tongue, that they made such a Proficiency in them without the Knowledge of Letters, as to be able by others reading them frequently to them, to repeat them. 'Tis certain that the Publick Readers in the antient Church never once pretended to read any part of Scripture in an unknown Tongue; that being as much against the Design of their Ordination, as it was against the Design of the Scripture itself: for the one was written, and the other ordained to read what was written for Mens Learning and Instruction. And to this day the very Form of ordaining Readers in the *Roman Pontifical* stands as a Monument of Reproach to that Church, for obliging her Readers to act directly contrary to the Design of their Office, and the very Instructions that are given them in their Ordination: For there the Bishop in conferring the Order of Readers still uses this Form; Study to pronounce the Word of God, that is, the Sacred Lessons, distinctly and plainly to the Understanding and Edification of the Faithful, without any Error or Falshood, that ye may teach your Hearers both by Word and Example. This was a very proper Form of Exhortation to be given to Readers at their Ordination, while the antient Custom continued of reading

C. 7, 8.

Nehem. 8.

Aust. de Doctr.

Chris. tom. 3.

P. 3.

Euseb. Socrates.

Roman Pontifical,  
Cap. de Ordin.  
Lector.



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reading in a known Tongue; but their monstrous Contradiction in Practice makes it no better than Mockery to tell Men they are obliged by the Vow of their Ordination to read the Scriptures to the Understanding, Instruction and Edification of the People, and at the same time tie up their Mouths from reading an intelligible Word, but it must be all in an unknown Tongue.



## C H A P. V.

*Of the Original and Use of Liturgies in  
stated and set Forms of Prayer in the  
Primitive Church.*



UR next Inquiry is, whether Divine Service was performed by a stated Liturgy, which we usually call Set Forms of Prayer, or by an unlimited Liberty of extempore Conceptions in every Church-Assembly. Now there is no doubt to be made but that the Forms of divine Institution, such as that of Baptism, the Lord's Prayer, the singing of *David's* Psalms, and those of Benediction, were always used in the Church without any Variation; and 'tis believed too that during the continuance of the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, those Prayers and Hymns that were immediately dictated by the Spirit made up a part of the ordinary Service: But when the extraordinary Spirit of Prophecy ceased, then the Rulers of the Church supplied this Want by proper Forms of their own Composition, and every Bishop had the liberty at first to make a Liturgy for the Use of his own particular Church, and to compose new Forms for extraordinary Emergencies and Occasions. But in after-Ages the Bishops of a whole Province agreed by consent to conform

conform their Liturgy to the Model of their Metropolitcal Church. And then it was enacted into a Law by several Councils, that the same Order and Uniformity should be observed in all Ages. The *French* Churches first decreed that one and the same Custom in celebrating divine Service, and the same Order of Psalmody should be kept in all Churches; that as they held one Faith and Confession of the Holy Trinity, so they should keep to one Rule of divine Offices; lest if they varied in their Observations, that Variation should be interpreted as a Disagreement in some Point or other. And the same Rule was afterwards made and concerted in the *Spanish* Churches, where one Order was appointed to be observed in the Morning and Evening Service, because they were all of the same Faith and the same Kingdom: so that tho every Bishop at first had liberty to frame a Liturgy for the Use of his own Church, yet in process of Time they consented to take the Liturgy of the Metropolitcal Church as a Standard for the whole Province. And when the *Roman* Empire began to be cantoniz'd and divided into different Kingdoms, then came in the Use of National Liturgies, whose Use was commensurate to the Bounds and Limits of their respective Nations and Kingdoms.

Conc. Aga. Can. 30.  
Conc. Epaun. Can. 27.  
Conc. Vener. Can. 15.

Conc. Gerun. Can. 1.  
Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 2.  
Conc. Bracar. 1. Can. 19.

If it should be asked now, how it comes to pass that none of the antient Liturgies are now remaining, since they were compos'd for the Use of particular Churches: it may be answer'd,

1<sup>st</sup>, That their Design being so particular, there was no great reason to be so solicitous either to communicate and diffuse the Knowledge of them to other Churches, or to preserve them entire to Posterity, who were not precisely tied up to the Use of them, but might frame others at their own Discretion. Or,

2<sup>dly</sup>, It is not improbable but those antient Liturgies were for some Ages only certain Forms of Worship committed to Memory, and known by Practice, (as many use Prayers now-a-days) rather than committed to writing, which is the

Book XIII.  only way of preserving such sort of Monuments to late Posterity; because in times of Persecution we never read of ritual Books, or Books of divine Service deliver'd up to the Heathen Persecutors, as the Scriptural Writings were by the *Traditores*, to undergo the same Fate with them.

3dly, Another Reason why none of those antient Liturgies are extant at this Day may be the Injury of Time, since even the old *Gallican*, *Spanish*, *African*, and *Roman* Liturgies are in a great measure lost the same way, there being nothing but Fragments and dismembred Parcels of them now remaining.

4thly, The last Reason may be the Interpolations and Additions made to the antient Liturgies in future Ages. For tho there may be some few of them that may retain somewhat of the antient Composition in them, yet so many Alterations and Additions have been made in them since, that it is not easy to discern after they have passed through so many different Hands, and so much new modelling, what was the genuine Composition of the first Authors. For proof of which we need go no farther than the Example of our own Liturgy, which has received many Reviews, Alterations and Additions from the time it was first compiled in the days of King *Edward*.

Since then we have now no antient Liturgies perfect and entire as they were first compos'd, we must take our Accounts and Estimate of them from other Fountains: and by the Providence of God there is so much of them remaining in the genuine Writings of the antient Fathers, as both to shew us in general that the Church made use of stated Forms of Worship, and also what was the particular Order and Method of her Worship in the most considerable Parts of her sacred Service and Devotions.

As to the former nothing seems to be more uncontested than that the *Jews* had set Forms of Worship in all Parts of divine Service, and that the Apostles freely used them in all Instances, thinking

thinking it necessary and becoming to join with the Jews in them. Their ordinary Service was of two sorts, the Service of the Temple, and the Service of the Synagogue; in both which, tho there was a difference in other respects, the publick Prayers were offer'd up in a certain constant Form of Words. Dr. *Lightfoot* has thus accurately described the Temple-Service, as it stood in the time of our Saviour: First, before the Offering of the Sacrifice, the President call'd upon them to go to Prayers, which they began with this Form: 'Thou hast loved us, O Lord our God, with an everlasting Love, with great and abundant Compassion hast thou had Mercy upon us, O our Father, our King, for our Fathers sakes, who trusted in thee, and thou taughtest them Statutes of Life. So be gracious to us also, O our Father, O most merciful Father, O thou compassionate one, pity us; and put into our Hearts to know, obey, learn, teach, observe, do and perform all the Words of the Doctrine of thy Law in Love; and enlighten our Eyes by thy Law, and cause our Hearts to cleave to thy Commandments, and unite our Hearts to love and to fear thy Name, &c.' After this Prayer they rehears'd the ten Commandments, and then their Phylacteries, which contained four Portions of the Law written in four Parchments: The first out of *Exod.* 13. ver. 3 — 10. The second from ver. 11 — 16. of the same Chapter. The third out of *Deut.* 6. ver. 4 — 9. and the fourth out of *Deut.* 11. ver. 13 — 21. After this Prayer, and rehearsal of the Decalogue and of their Phylacteries, at the time of offering Incense, they had three or four Prayers more. The first of which, referring to their Phylacteries, was in this Form: 'The Truth of the everlasting God our King, the Rock of *Jacob*, the Shield of our Salvation for ever and ever. He is sure, and his Name sure, and his Throne settled, and his Kingdom and Truth established for evermore, &c.' The second Prayer was thus: 'Be

Temple-Service.  
c. 9. Sect. 4.



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Be pleased, O Lord our God, with thy People *Israel*, and with their Prayer, and restore the Service to the Oracle of thy House, and accept the Burnt-offering of *Israel*, and their Prayer, in Love and Complacency; and let the Service of thy People *Israel* be continually well-pleasing unto thee.' And then they concluded thus: 'We praise thee who art the Lord our God, and the God of our Fathers, the God of all Flesh, our Creator, and the God of all Creatures: Glory and Praise be to thy great and holy Name, because thou hast preserv'd and kept us: so preserve and keep us, and bring back our Captivity to the Courts of thy Holiness, &c.'

A third Prayer ran thus: 'Appoint Peace, Goodness and Blessing, Grace, Mercy and Compassion for us and for all *Israel* thy People. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us as one Man, with the Light of thy Countenance; for in the Light of thy Countenance Thou, O Lord our God, hast given us the Law of Life, and loving Mercy, and Righteousness, and Blessing, and Compassion, and Life, and Peace: let it please thee to bless thy People *Israel* at all times. Let us and all thy People the House of *Israel* be remember'd and written before thee in the Book of Life with Blessing and Peace, &c.' A fourth Prayer was used on the Sabbath, as a Blessing, in these Words: 'He that caused his Name to dwell in this House, cause Love, and Brotherhood, and Peace, and Friendship to dwell among you.'

After these things the Priests lifted up their Hands and blessed the People in that Form of Words, which is in *Numb.* 6. 24. *The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his Face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his Countenance upon thee, and give thee Peace.* To which the People answer'd, *Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting.* After this Blessing the Meat-offering and the Drink-offering was offer'd, and then began the singing of Psalms and the Musick. On the first day of the Week was sung the 24th Psalm;

Pſalm; on the ſecond day the 48th; on the third the 82d; on the fourth the 94th; on the fifth the 81ſt; on the ſixth the 93d; and on the Sabbath-day was ſung the 92d Pſalm. Theſe were the conſtant and fixed Pſalms for the ſeveral Days of the Week throughout the Year: but upon ſome certain Days they had additional Pſalms and Hymns. For on the Sabbath at the time of the additional Sacrifice the *Levites* ſang the Song of *Moses*, *Deut.* 32. for the Morning-Service; and at the Evening-Service they ſang that other Song of *Moses*, *Exod.* 15. From which Cuſtom of Temple-Service, ſinging the Songs of *Moses* upon the Sabbath, c. 7. P. 59. Dr. *Lightfoot* obſerves, that that Paſſage in *Rev.* 15. 3. may be illuſtrated, where the Saints are ſaid to ſing the Song of *Moses* the Servant of God; becauſe they were now come to their everlaſting Sabbath, having gotten the Victory over the Beaſt, and over his Image and Mark, and over the Number of his Name, and having the Harps of God in their hands. Beſides this, at the time of the additional Sacrifice appointed on the firſt day of the Year, called the *Feaſt of Trumpets*, they ſang the 81ſt Pſalm in the Morning, and at the Evening-Service the 29th. Alſo at the *Paſſover*, beſides many other Forms, they were uſed to ſing the Hymn call'd the *Egyptian Hallel*, becauſe it was ſung in remembrance of their Delivery out of *Egypt*, which conſiſted of the Pſalms 113 — 118. And this Pſalm was likewiſe ſung at the beginning of every Month, and in the *Feaſt of Dedication*, and the *Feaſt of Weeks*, and the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*: and the latter part of it is generally ſuppoſ'd to be the Hymn which our Saviour ſung with his Diſciples at the concluſion of his laſt Supper.

This is the Sum of the *Jewiſh* Temple-Service, as it ſtood in our Saviour's time, which both he and his Diſciples complied with; whenever they had occaſion upon any ſuch Solemnities to frequent the Temple.

The Service of the Synagogue differ'd ſomewhat from that of the Temple. For here were  
no

Book XII. no Sacrifices, but only these three things, Prayers, reading of the Scriptures, preaching and expounding of them. Their publick Prayers, like those of the Temple, were all by stated Forms, the most antient and solemn of which were those eighteen, which are said to have been appointed by *Ezra* and the Great Synagogue from the time of the Captivity, and are lately published by the learned Dr. *Prideaux*, in his *Connexion of Scripture-History*, with another Prayer against the Christians, called the nineteenth, which was added a little before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

Part 1. Book 6.

Luke 4. 16.

Mark 1. 39, &c.

Acts 13. 15.

— 16. 13, &c.

The other Parts of the Synagogue-Service, viz. the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and expounding of them to the People, were performed by a certain Rule and Order. For the Five Books of *Moses* were divided into as many Sections, or Lessons, as there are Weeks in the Year; one of which was read every Sabbath, and half of the same every Monday and Thursday, which were their Days of Assembly for their Synagogue-Service. At these our blessed Saviour was usually present, and sometimes assisted and officiated in reading, according to Custom, as a Member of the Synagogue; and at other times taught in their Synagogues. And the same is observed of St. *Paul*, that it was his manner on the Sabbath-days to go into the Synagogues, where Prayer was wont to be made; and there, after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, to preach to the People, and dispute or reason with them. So that notwithstanding the publick Service of the Synagogue was all performed by Order and Form, yet this was no reason for the Apostles to refrain from it as a thing simply sinful or unlawful; but they complied with it for some time, probably to gain upon the *Jews* the better, and make them lay aside their Prejudices against the Christian Doctrine.

But besides their Compliance with the stated Forms of the *Jewish* Liturgy and Worship, they had some Forms of their own in constant use among themselves. Among which may be reckoned, 1. The Lord's-Prayer, as a Form appointed by

by Christ to be used by all his Disciples. 2. The Form of Baptism, constantly used without any Variation. 3. The Forms of professing their Faith in Baptism, or the Forms of sound Words settled in every Church. 4. The Forms of renouncing Satan, and covenanting with Christ in Baptism. 5. The Forms of Scripture-Hymns and Psalms, and Glorifications of God, together with the Forms of Benediction. The Use of all which is sufficient to shew that even the Apostles themselves, notwithstanding the extraordinary Gift of inspired Prayer, whether in Matter, or Method, or Words, or Languages, sometimes confined themselves to Forms, without any Reflection on their Gifts, or stinting of the Spirit, or want of Edification to their Hearers. But this will more fully appear, if we carry our Enquiry of it thro the three or four following Ages of the Church.

But first we may add what *Josephus* says of the *Essenes*, that they were used to offer to God, *Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12.*  
*certains ritus iuxta*, certain Prayers according to the Custom of their Forefathers, or such as they had received from them. As also what *Philo* says of the President of the *Therapeutæ* of *Alexandria*, singing a Hymn to the Praise of God, either such as he had composed himself, or one taken out of the antient Prophets, in the close of which they all, both Men and Women, joined in consort with him. And again, that in their Vigils they divided themselves into two *Philo ibid. p. 1215.*  
*Quires*, the one of Men, and the other of Women, each of which had their *Præcentor*, and so they sang Hymns to the Glory of God, compos'd of divers sorts of Metre, sometime one side singing, and sometime the other, in imitation of the Children of *Israel* under the conduct of *Moses* and *Miriam*, their *Præcentors* at the *Red-Sea*.

In the beginning of the second Century *Pliny*, a *Roman* Proconsul in *Bithynia*, giving *Trajan* the Emperor an account of the Christian way of Worship, which he had from the mouth of some Apostates, says they were used to meet on a certain Day before it was light, and sing an Hymn alternately to Christ.

Much



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Socr. l. 6. c. 8.

Ep. ad Magn.  
n. 7.Lucian. Philo.  
p. 1128.

Ap. 2. p. 97.

Lib. 1. c. 1.

Strom. 7. cap. 6.  
p. 848. Edit.  
Oxon.

Ib. Epit. p. 974.

De Orator. de  
Baptif. & Co-  
rons Mill.

Apol. c. 30.

Much about the same time *Ignatius* is said to have brought in the way of *alternate* singing into the Church of *Antioch*. Nor is it improbable but that as he made Hymns, so he might compose a whole Form of Prayers, for the Use of his own Church, as was customary for Bishops to do in those days. For in writing to the *Magnesian*, he bids them do nothing without the Bishops and Presbyters, nor attempt any thing seemingly agreeable to their private Fancies; but when they meet together, to have one Prayer and one Supplication.

*Lucian* the Heathen, in one of his Dialogues, says, that in a religious Assembly of Christians he heard that Prayer which began with the Father, and ended with the Hymn of many Names.

*Justin Martyr* called prescribed Forms by the name of κοινὰς ὑμνας, common Prayers. *Irenæus*, Bishop of *Lyons*, takes notice of a certain Form used in the Christian Worship, so well known to the *Valentinian* Hereticks, that they made use of it as an Argument to prove their own fabulous Doctrine of the *Æones*.

*Clemens* of *Alexandria*, speaking of the Church, says, it was the Congregation of those who prostrated themselves in Prayers, having as it were *φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν*, one common Voice; which implies that their Prayers were such as that they could join vocally in them, either by repeating the whole, or at least by alternate Responses.

And, not to repeat his common Form of *Doxology* which he uses at the end of his *Padagogus*, he mentions a Form of Prayer used over the Penitents by the *Valentinians* Imposition of Hands.

*Tertullian* often tells us that they used the Lord's Prayer as a Form enjoined by divine Command, and that the Church added several other Observations for the Edification of her Children, as her Rules of Discipline, and Psalmody, and singing a Psalm at the Eucharist, &c. As to that Expression of his, of the Christians praying for the Emperor, *sine monitore, quia de pectore*, without any

Mo-

Monitor, because they prayed from the Heart, which the Opposers of Liturgies lay great stress upon for praying extempore; no more can be meant by it than this, according to the Interpretations of several learned Men, either that they pray'd *memoriter*, saying their Prayers by heart, and needing no Prompter, as the Heathens did; or that they pray'd sincerely from the Heart without Compulsion.

Chap. 5.

Bishop Fell in Cyprian, de Oratore, Dr. Paikner, Dr. Comber, Hammond L'Estrange.

In the Beginning of the third Century Hippolytus the Martyr, and Bishop of Adana in Arabia, in his Book entitled, *Ἀποστολικὴ Παράδοσις καὶ Χειρσμάτων*, The Apostolical Tradition concerning Ecclesiastical Offices, hath a Collection of such Forms as either were in use, or made in imitation of those that were then in use in the Church. In another Treatise of the Consummation of the World and Antichrist, he commends the Use of Doxologies, and Psalms, and spiritual Odes; and makes it one of the Signs of the Reign of Antichrist, that Liturgys shall be extinguished, Psalmody shall cease, and reading of the Scriptures shall not be heard.

Vid. Cave Hist. Liter.

Hippol. de consum. mundi. Eibl. Pat. tom. 2. p. 357, & 362.

Origen, Scholar to Hippolytus, in his Homilies upon Jeremiah, expressly mentions one of the Prayers of constant use in the Church: We frequently say in our Prayers, says he, 'Grant us, O Almighty God, grant us a part with thy Prophets, grant us a part with the Apostles of thy Christ, grant that we may be found at the feet of thy only-begotten Son.'

Hom. 11. in Jerem. p. 606.

Which is a Testimony so clear, that the Centuriators made no scruple to conclude hence, that Forms of Prayers were undoubtedly used in the Church in the time of Origen. He elsewhere says, that the Christians used the order'd or prescribed Prayers, as became them, continually night and day, whereby they were preserved against the Power of Magick and the Devil. And of the Scriptures he says in another Place, That they were methodized and brought under Rule, being read by some certain Order and Prescription.

Centur. Magd. Cent. 3. Cap. 6.

Cont. Celsum, lib. 6. p. 302.

In Job. lib. 1. p. 366.

After

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Cypr. de Lapis  
P. 125.

Ep. 70. ad Epif.  
Numidas p. 190.

Ep. 69. al. 76.  
ad Magnum, f.  
183.

De Orat. Domi-  
ni, p. 152.

Ep. 75. ad Cy-  
prian. p. 223.

After him St. *Cyprian* testifies, not only that the Lord's Prayer was used as a Form, and as a spiritual Form most acceptable to God; but also mentions several other Forms of common and noted Use in Divine Service: As that every one in the Administration of Baptism was to renounce the Devil and the World in a certain Form of Words then vulgarly known; that they were likewise to make profession of the several Articles of the Christian Faith in a certain Form of Words, which every Church had for that purpose collected into a Creed. And he assures us they were so precise to a Form, that the *Novatians* themselves used the very same Words in their Questions and Responses, on this occasion, as the Catholics did: A clear Argument this for the Observation of a Form in Baptism. And the same is as evident in the Administration of the Eucharist, where the People bear a part in the Prayers of that Service. That known Preface of the Priests, persuading the People to use Diligence and Attention in their Prayers, *Lift up your Hearts*, with the Peoples Answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*; his going on, and saying, *Let us give thanks unto our Lord God*, with the Peoples Answer, *It is meet and right so to do*; the Salutation, *Peace be with you*, to which the People answer'd, *And with thy Spirit*; are sufficient to prove that stated Forms of Prayer were then allowed in the publick Service of the Church of *Carthage*, and probably in the rest of the *African* Churches.

From *Firmilian's* Account of a certain Woman, an Impostor, consecrating the Eucharist, and using the common and appointed Interrogatories at Baptism, and doing every thing according to the exact Method and Form observed in the Church, that she might not seem to vary from it; we may learn, That the Church at that time had a stated Rule and Order for administering both the Sacraments, and that the Forms were so well known, that that Woman could imitate them so exactly, as in nothing to vary from the usual Solemnities either of Prayers, or other Ceremo-

nies

nies then observed. And if we consider, that the Administration of the two Sacraments was then the most considerable Part of the Church's Service, this is a very clear Evidence to prove that prescribed Forms were now in use in the *Asiatic* Churches.

*Gregory Thaumaturgus*, Cotemporary with *Fir- milian*, left his Church a Liturgy or Form of Divine Service, which they were so tenacious of, that they would not suffer one Ceremony, or one Word, or one mystical Form to be added to those which he had left among them. He settled likewise the Way of singing Psalms, not alternately, but by the common Voice of the People all joining together.

Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. 29. p. 360.

I conclude this Century with a Passage out of an Epistle of *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, to *Fabian* Bishop of *Antioch*, recorded by *Eusebius*; which was, That it was customary in those Days for the Minister to use a Form of Words at the Delivery of the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, saying, The Body of Christ, or, The Blood of Christ; to which the People always answer'd, Amen.

Corn. Ep. ad Fabian. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 245.

In the beginning of the fourth Century, *Arnobius*, apologizing for the Christian Devotions, tells the Heathens, they might know they worshipped the supreme God, and called upon him for what they desired, by the Sound of their Voice they used in Prayer; for they all prostrated themselves before him, adoring him with joint Supplications, *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* both take notice of Forms of Prayer appointed by the first Christian Emperors for their Soldiers to use, in imitation of those of the Church. The former says expressly, that *Licinius* the Emperor being promised in his Sleep by an Angel the Victory against *Maximinus*, if he with all his Army would pray to the most high God, immediately after he awaked, dictated to a Notary the following Prayer as he heard it from the Angel: 'O thou most High God, we beseech thee, 'O Holy God, we beseech thee. We commend 'all the Justice of our Cause to thee. We commend our Safety unto thee. We commend

Lib. 1. p. 24.

— p. 25.

Lactan. de Mort. Persecut. cap. 46.



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our Empire unto thee. By thee we live, by thee we are victorious and happy. O most high and holy God, hear our Prayers. We stretch forth our Arms unto thee. Hear us, O most high and holy God.' Which Words being written in many Books, and so learnt by all the Soldiers, and repeated three times with Hands lifted up to Heaven, in the Day of Battle, procured a compleat Victory over their Enemies. And this is an illustrious Evidence of the general Sense of Christians, that they did not think Forms of Prayer unlawful, because they were written in a Book, nor the Repetition of them any Offence. If it be said that this Prayer was dictated by an Angel, and therefore might be used, the same may be said of the Lord's Prayer being dictated by Christ himself, and the Psalms written as Forms of Prayer and Praise by an inspired Penman; and yet there are those who for no other reason, but because they are Forms, despise the use of them, when inserted into any Liturgy of the Church.

Euseb. de Vita  
Constant. lib. 14.  
c. 19, 20.

Parallel to this Testimony of *Lactantius*, is that other Relation of *Eusebius* concerning *Constantine*, that he order'd all his Soldiers, as many as were Heathens, to go forth into the Field on the Lord's Day, and there with Hands and Hearts lifted up to Heaven to offer up to God, *μεγαλεισμον ἰσχυρ*, a certain Prayer which they had learned and premeditated before. The Prayer was to be said in the *Latin* Tongue, the vulgar Language, and in this express Form of Words: 'We acknowledge thee to be the only God; we profess thee to be our King; we call upon thee as our Helper. It is from thee we have our Victories, by thee we are superior to our Enemies. We give thee thanks for thy past Favours and Benefits we have already received, and we hope in thee for those that are to come. We are all humble Supplicants unto thee, beseeching thee to preserve *Constantine* our King with all his pious Children, and grant him long to reign over us with Safety and Victory.' This was the Prayer which

which he enjoind the Heathens in his Army to use every Lord's-Day. As for those that were Christians, he commanded them to follow his own Example, and attend the Prayers of the Church on the Lord's Day, setting them a Pattern in his own Practice. He order'd his own Palace after a manner of a Church, first taking the Bible into his hands, and reading and meditating therein, and then repeating the *Prescribed Prayers* with all his Royal Family. Which shews that Forms of Prayer were then generally used in the Church, since *Constantine* used the prescribed Prayers in his own Family, making it thereby resemble the Church.

ibid. c. 17.

In the Writings of *Athanasius* there are plain Footsteps of a Liturgy. In one Place he declares that when he said, Let us pray for the Safety of the most religious Emperor *Constantius*, all the People immediately with one Voice answered, Christ help *Constantius*. Again, speaking of the Communion-Service, he says, The People offer'd up their Prayers with one Voice, and without any manner of Disagreement; and that in that great multitude there was but one Voice, when they unanimously answer'd, *Amen*. And as to Psalmody, we are told, That was so ordered, that the People should bear a part in it.

Apol. 2d Constantin. p. 679.

P. 683.

Sozom. l. 3. c. 6.

From *Cassian*, *Palladius*, and *St. Jerom*, we have an account, that when *Pacomius*, about the Year 340, settled the *Egyptian Monks* under Rules, he obliged them to meet twice a day, and sing a certain number of Psalms, with Prayers intermixed. Whatever their Prayers were, 'tis certain their Psalmody was Matter of Form, whether they sung singly or alternately.

Cassi. Instit. lib. 7. cap. 6.  
Pall. Hist. c. 38.  
Hieron. Ep. 22.  
ad Eustoc. c. 15.

*Cyril*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in his *Catechetical Discourses to the newly-baptized*, takes notice of many Forms and Ceremonies of antient use, of their Renunciation in Baptism, their repeated Confession of the Holy Trinity, their trine Immersion: In the Communion-Service, of the Priest's calling to the People, together with their Answer, as is above-mentioned; their singing to-

Catech. Myst. 1.  
n. 2. q. 278.

Q. 283.

Book XIII. together the Seraphical Hymn ; using the Lord's Prayer ; and jointly beseeching God in other Prayers for the common Peace of the Church, for the Tranquillity of the World, for Kings and their Armies and Allies, for the Sick and Afflicted, and in a word, for all that want Assistance : all which are so very plain Evidences of a stated Liturgy, that there is no question to be made but that there was a prescribed Liturgy, and Offices in Form for the Administration both of Baptism and the Eucharist in the Church of *Jerusalem* before these Lectures were written, tho it may not be possible to trace every thing precisely to its first Original.

Hieron. de Scrip-  
tor. c. 100.

Hilar. in Psal.  
65. p. 232.

Cotemporary with *Cyrl* was *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers*, of whom *St. Jerom* says, that he wrote a Book of Hymns and Mysteries, which most probably were the Forms of the Holy Offices then used in the Church, which certainly were had in great Request, and order'd to be retained in the Church's Service. He himself plainly intimates that both the Prayers and Hymns were such as all the People with an audible Voice might join in. ' Let every profane Hearer, says he, be terrified with the Words of our Confession. ' Let us fight against the Devil and his Weapons with the Sound of our Prayers, and let the Victory of our War be proclaimed with the Voice of Exultation. Let him that stands without the Church hear the Voice of the People praying, let him perceive the glorious Sound of our Hymns, and hear the Responses of our devout Confession in the Offices of the Divine Sacraments.' He who can make out all this from the People's silent Consent in Heart only to the Minister's Prayer, without any vocal joining in Forms of Prayer and Praises, may make any thing out of any thing ; and it were not worth while to produce any manner of Evidence for such a Man's Conviction.

In the Council of *Laodicea*, which Chronologers place in this Century, are several Canons, plainly shewing the Use of prescribed Forms in the

the Service of the Church. The seventh Canon orders that such as returned from the Heresies of the *Novarians*, *Photinians*, and *Quartodecimani*, should first learn the Creeds of the Church, and be anointed with the Holy Chrism, before they were admitted to the Communion of the Holy Mysteries; which implies that the Creeds were then in a certain Form, since they were obliged to learn them. The eighth orders the same Liturgy of Prayers to be used at the *Nones*, that is, at three a-clock in the Afternoon, and at Evening-Service. The ninth plainly describes the Order and Method of the antient Service, as it was performed in that Age; and tho the several Forms of Prayer there mentioned, are not set down, yet we may be sure they were in use at that time. The 39th Canon appoints that no Psalms composed by private Men should be sung in the Church; which argues that Hymns composed by private Men were only to be discarded, but others were allowed that were authentick. And this, with other Canons that might be produced, is a full Proof that Forms of Divine Service were in use at the time of this Council.

That *Epiphanius* approved Forms of Prayer, appears from the frequent Testimony he gives to the Book called the *Apostolical Constitutions*, with this Character, that it contains all Canonical Order, and nothing contrary to the Faith, or Confession, or the Administration and Rules of the Church; the eighth Book of which Constitutions is nothing but a Collection of such publick Forms.

*Optatus*, Bishop of *Milevis*, has a great many plain References to the Forms then used in the publick Service. He intimates in one Place that Psalmody was then a part of the People's Devotions all the World over, and that the *Donatists* were injurious to God, whose Principles tended to defraud him of it. Again, he speaks of the Prayer for the whole Church in the time of the Oblation, as a Form so firmly established by Law, that the *Donatists* themselves would not venture

Chap. 5.

Epi. Hæref. 70.  
n. 10. Expof.  
Fid. n. 23. tom. 1.

Op. lib. 2. p. 47.

p. 53.



Book XIII. to make any Alteration in it. And again, that the Lord's-Prayer, the common Form of Salutation, and the same Interrogatories in Baptism were retained both by Catholicks and *Donatists* in the publick Service of the Church.

P. 57, & 73.

Nazian. Orat. in  
Basil. p. 340.

Pet. Diac. de In-  
carnat. in: r  
Fulgentii opera,  
t. 8. p. 633.

St. Basil, when Presbyter of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, among other Services done for that Church, composed Forms of Prayer and Orders of Decency for the Communion-Service, which, by the Consent and Authority of *Eusebius* his Bishop, were used in the Church. *Petrus Diaconus* cites this Prayer out of the original Liturgy of St. Basil, which thro many Alterations is not to be found in the present Copies. 'Grant us, Lord, thy Defence and Protection; we beseech thee make the evil to become good, and keep those that are good in their Goodness. For all things are possible unto thee, and no one can contradict thee: When thou pleasest, thou canst save, and there is no one that can resist thy Will.' But St. Basil not only composed a Form for the Communion Service, but often speaks of other Forms as generally used upon other Occasions. In his 63d Epistle he gives a large Account of the Peoples joining in alternate Psalmody and Prayers, and of repeating the Psalm of Confession, i. e. the 51st Psalm, at Morning Prayer. In his 68th Epistle he mentions other Forms which were as evidently Parts of the antient Liturgies: 'We pray that the rest of our Days may continue in Peace, we desire that our Death also may be in Peace.' And in another Place he speaks of particular Psalms appointed for particular Hours of Canonical Prayer. All which are such manifest Indications of the Use of stated Forms, as nothing but Prejudice can incline a Man to except against them.

Nazian. Orat. 19.  
P. 305.

Orat. 3. p. 10, 11.

*Gregory Nazianzen* tells us that his own Father consecrated the Eucharist with the solemn Words that were wont to be used on that occasion. And, speaking of *Julian* the Apostate, he says, he admired the Church for her Forms of Worship which were antiently deliver'd, and still

still preserved amongst them; and therefore he intended that his Heathen Priests should imitate the Christians, and have a Form of Prayers in Parts, that is, Prayers so composed as that the People might make their Responses. *Nazianzen* also mentions the usual Form of Renunciation in Baptism, the Profession of Faith, the triple Immersion, and many other Rites and Observances of Ecclesiastical Prescription.

Chap. 3.

Orat. 40. p. 671.

St. *Ambrose*, in opposition to the *Arians*, composed several Hymns in *Latin*, to the Glory of the Holy Trinity, for the People to sing in the Church; of which he says, What can be more powerful and alluring than the Confession of the Trinity, which is daily sung by the Mouth of the People? They all zealously strive to make Profession of the Faith, they all know how to celebrate the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in Verse.

Orat. contr.  
Aurent. Ep. 32.

St. *Austin* frequently speaks of these Hymns, and says they were sung as the Psalms then were, in the alternate way, verse for verse, by the People; and that from this Example the Custom of alternate Hymnody and Psalmody spread almost all over the *Western Churches*.

Aug. Conf. lib.  
9. c. 7.

S. *Jerom* testifies concerning the use of Psalms, as Forms of Prayer and Praises, that they were used both publickly and privately upon all occasions. He does not say much indeed of the other Parts of the Liturgy, yet he frequently mentions, as does also St. *Ambrose*, the Form of Renunciation used in Baptism, the Use of the Lord's Prayer, the *Trisagion*, or Cherubical Hymn, sung both by Priest and People, as a Confession of the Holy Trinity, the common Form of Salutation, and the known Custom of the Peoples answering *Amen* at the Reception of the Kiss of Peace in the Eucharist.

Hier. Ep. 22. ad  
Eusto. Ep. 27.  
c. 10.

Vid. Ambrose  
cited by Comber  
of Liturgies,  
p. 183.

If we were to examine St. *Austin's* Works, 'tis probably we might find the whole *African* Liturgy in his Writings; but we shall only make some short References to what he says upon some Parts of it. He divides the whole Liturgy, or Service of the Church, into five Parts, viz. Psalmody,

August. Ep. 119  
ad Januar. c. 18.

Book XIII. Reading of the Scriptures, Preaching, Prayers of the Bishop, and the Bidding Prayers of the Deacon: Psalmody, he says, was the Exercise of the People at all times, when no other part of the Service was performing. And so great was his Love and Concern for the Use of it, that *Pos-*

Possid. Vir. Aug.  
c. 29.

Ibid. c. 30.

Aug. Conf. in  
Johan. Praef.  
t. 9.

Hom. 83. de di-  
versis, tom. 10.  
p. 556.

Ep. 119. ad  
Paulin, c. 18.

*sidius* tells us in his Life, that in the great Irruption of the *Vandals* into *Africk* a little before his Death, nothing grieved him more than to see the Hymns and Praises of God destroy'd out of the Churches, and the Solemnities of God's Worship, with the Sacrifice and Sacraments, fail in the Places where they used to be celebrated. To which he adds, that in his last Sickness he order'd some of the penitential Psalms of *David* to be written for him in large Sheets, and hang'd up against the Wall, which he read and used as Forms proper for penitential Devotions.

The reading of the Scripture, he acquaints us in many Places, was done by a certain Rule and Kalendar appointing proper Lessons for particular Occasions and Seasons.

Of the Prayers made by the Bishop in the Communion-Office, he gives such a Description as shews they must needs be made by a certain Order and Form; relating the Use of the Lord's Prayer, the *Sursum Corda*, with the Peoples unanimous Answer, the Priest's Salutation, with the Peoples giving one another thereupon the Kiss of Peace, which was a Symbol of that Innocency and Peace which ought to be the Qualification of true Christian Doves. There was one sort of Prayers more which St. *Austin* distinguishes from the former by the Title of *Communis Oratio voce Diaconi indicta*, or, Common Prayer dictated by the Voice of the Deacon; which differ'd from the Bishop's Prayer in this, that the Bishop's Prayer was a direct and continued Invocation of God, to which the People only answer'd *Amen* in the Conclusion, but the Deacon's Prayer was a sort of *Bidding Prayer*, or Direction to the People what Particulars they were to pray for, the Deacon going before them, and repeating every Petition;

to which they made Answer in these or the like Words, *Lord hear us, Lord help us, Lord have mercy upon us.* Chap. 5.

Besides these, there were some occasional Offices, such as the Offices of Exorcism, and the Institution of Catechumens, and Baptism; in which many Forms, and Rites, and Ceremonies were observ'd, agreeable to the Practice then obtaining in the Church: all which having been mention'd already, it would be needless to repeat in this Place. I shall only observe, as a Conclusion to this Century and the Chapter together, that in the third *African* Council held at *Carthage*, at which *St. Austin* was present and assisted, there were Canons made to prevent all Irregularities and Corruptions creeping into the Devotions of the Church; one of which expressly enjoins that no Bishop should use any Prayers in his Church, but such as were first examined and approved by his Fellow-Bishops in a Council. And this is more fully explained by another Canon in the *African* Code, which enjoins that such Prayers should be used by all as had been authoriz'd and confirm'd in Synod, whether they were Prefaces, or Commendations, or Impositions of Hands; and that no other should be brought in against the Faith, but those only be said which were collected or examined by Men of greater Abilities and Understanding. Whence it appears, that the publick Devotions of the *African* Church were at this time directed by certain Forms of Worship, and those not left to every Bishop to compose for himself, but he must use such Prayers as were first approved by his Brethren, or established and confirmed in Council.

Conc. Car. 3.  
Can. 23.,

Cod. Afric.  
Can. 106.



## C H A P. VI.

*An Extract of the antient Liturgy out of the genuine Writings of St. Chrysostom.*

**I**T may not be improper, for its Relation to the present Subject, to give in one view a Specimen of such Passages as plainly refer to the several Parts of the antient Liturgy, from the Works of St. Chrysostom, according to the Paris Edition 1609, and that of Commeline 1617.

Hom. 1. p. 1.

P. 32.

P. 45.

P. 106.

P. 191.

P. 226.

P. 234.

Vid. Hom. 55.

P. 672.

P. 266.

P. 173.

In the first Tome he plainly intimates that the Scriptures were read then in some Order by a stated Rule of the Church, because his Sermon that Day was upon a Passage that had been in the Morning Service. In his second Homily, he says again his Text was taken out of the Epistle then read for the Day. In his third Homily he says, the Lord's Prayer was by Appointment of the Church the peculiar Privilege of those only who were baptized. In his seventh Homily he observes that the Book of *Genesis* was always appointed to be read in *Lent*. In his fifteenth Homily he says the whole City met together, and with one common Voice, τὴν μὲν κοινὴν προσευχὴν, made their Litany or Supplications to God. In his sixteenth and eighteenth Homilies, he says he preached upon some Words out of the Epistle for the Day. In his twenty first Homily, he takes notice of the Use of the Hymn called the *Trisagion*, or Cherubical Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, in the Celebration of the Eucharist; arguing thus to his Hearers, What an Absurdity is it for a Man, after he has heard that mystical Song that was brought down from Heaven by the Cherubims, to pollute his Ears with the Songs of Harlots, and the effeminate Musick of the Theatre? And in his twenty fourth Homily he says, speaking of the

the same Cherubical Hymn, Do you think that you have any secular Business at that Hour? Do you then imagine your self to be upon Earth, or conversing among Men? Whose Heart is so stony as to think that at that time he stands upon the Earth, and is not rather in a Quire of Angels, with whom you sing that mystical Hymn, with whom you send up that triumphal Song to God? And more to the same purpose may be seen in his seventy fourth Homily. In the twenty first Homily, he twice takes notice of the Form of renouncing the Devil in Baptism. In the twenty second Homily, upon Anger, and forgiving Enemies, he argues for the Necessity of pardoning Offences, from the necessary Obligation that is laid upon all Men to say the Lord's Prayer; for says he, if you do not forgive, you ask nothing else of God, but that he would deprive you of all Excuse and Pardon: and as to such as omitted that Clause, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them* that trespass against us, he advises them to use the whole Prayer as Christ appointed it to be used, that the Necessity of this Petition might daily terrify them from Revenge, and compel them to grant Pardon to their Neighbours. In his twenty eighth Homily he speaks of the common Prayer as sent up with one common Voice of the whole Congregation, speaking and crying aloud to God with one accord: And whereas some would have excused themselves from those Prayers of the Church by this frivolous Plea, that they could pray at home, he makes this Reply to them; You deceive your self, O Man, for tho you may pray at home, yet you cannot pray there in that manner as you do in the Church, where there are so many Fathers together, and where the Cry of your Prayers is sent up to God with one Consent. You are not heard so well, when you pray to God by your self alone, as when you pray by your Brethren. For there is something more here, Consent of Mind, and Consent of Voice, and the Bond of Charity, and the Prayers of the Priests together. For the Priests for this very reason

P. 900.

P. 267.

P. 287.

P. 288.

Vid. Tom. 2.

Hom. 27. p. 358.

Hom. 3. in Paul.

P. 1053.

P. 363.

Vid. tom. 3.

Hom. 2. p. 946.

**Book XIII.** reason preside in the Church, that the Peoples Prayers, which are weaker of themselves, laying hold on those that are stronger, may, together with them, mount up to Heaven. A little after he describes these Prayers again by the Peoples sending up their tremendous Cry all at once. In his twenty ninth Homily he gives an account of the Deacon's calling fourth the Energumens, and bidding them bow their Heads, and the Peoples praying to God, *ἰμνησαμένους καὶ μετὰ σφοδρῆς βίας*, with one Consent and strong Cries, that he would should shew mercy on them. A little after in the same Homily, he mentions another Form used by the Deacon as the Herald of the Church, who was appointed to call upon the People frequently, and excite them to Fervency in Devotion by using this Form of Words, *ὁρῶμεν καλῶς*, *Let us elevate our Minds, and attend with Decency to our Devotions*: which he thus explains, That we should elevate our Thoughts that lie groveling upon the Ground, that casting away the Distraction that arises from secular Affairs, we may be able to present our Souls upright, and raised to a spiritual Sense in the Presence of God. Let no Man therefore, adds he, join in those sacred and mystical Hymns with Remissness of Mind; let no Man entertain the Thoughts of this Life at that time, but driving away all earthly Concerns, let him translate himself wholly into Heaven, as standing then close by the Throne of Glory, and flying with the Seraphims; and so let him offer up that most holy Hymn to the God of Majesty and Glory. It is upon this account we are called upon at this time, *ἱεράως καλῶς*, to compose ourselves decently, as it becomes Men who stand in the Presence of God, with Fear and Trembling, with a vigilant and elevated Soul. In his forty seventh Homily upon *Julian* the Martyr, he again mentions the solemn Form of Renunciation in Baptism. You renounced, says he, all this kind of Pomp (Harlots Songs and obscene Words used in the Theatre) and made a Covenant with Christ in that Day when you were initiated

P. 365.

P. 374.

R. 375.

Vid. etiam Hom.  
34. p. 440.

P. 613.

Vid. tom. 8. in  
Hom. in Johan.  
Vid. tom. 9.  
Hom. 2. in 2  
Cor. p. 743.

initiated in the holy Mysteries; remember therefore those Words, and your Covenant, and beware you do not transgress it. In his fifty first Homily upon *Bernice*, he says they used Hymns, and Prayers, and Psalms, at the Funerals of Christians, and particularly the Words of the 116th Psalm, *Return unto thy Rest, O my Soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee*; implying that the Death of a Christian was a Kindness and a Rest; for he that is enter'd into that Rest, hath ceased from his own Works, as God did from his. And in his sixtieth Homily, which is his Catechetical Instruction to those that were preparing for Baptism, he takes notice of several Forms and Rules made by the Church relating to that Matter.

Chap. 6.

P. 635.

Vid. Hom. 4. in Heb. p. 1785.

P. 197.

In the second Tome he acquaints us that tho the Book of *Genesis* was by order of the Church read in *Lent*, yet on the Thursday and Good-Friday in Passion-Week they had proper Lessons for the Days, and that it was customary all the time between *Easter* and *Pentecost*, to read the Acts of the Apostles as a Demonstration of our Saviour's Resurrection. In his fifty fourth Homily he says, Christ commanded the Use of the Lord's Prayer, prescribing us therein the Bounds and Rules of praying for temporal things, whilst he enjoins us to say those Words, *Give us this day our daily Bread*. In the second Homily upon the Prayer of *Hannah*, he says, When Christ commanded his Disciples not to pray after the manner of the Heathen, using vain Repetitions, he also taught us the Measure of Prayer, meaning the Form which he appointed.

Hom. 33. P. 478.

Vid. tom. 5.

Hom. 63. P. 949. & P. 951.

P. 731.

P. 965.

In his third Tome he frequently refers to the known parts of the Liturgy then in use in the Church. In his Comment on the 112th Psalm, he three times mentions the necessary Use of the Lord's Prayer. In Pages 370, 372, 394, 425, 465, 551 and 633, are References to one or other of the Petitions of that Prayer. And on the 150th Psalm he says, This Prayer was peculiar in its use to the Sons of God only, who could call God their

P. 369.

P. 636.



**Book XIII.** their Father by virtue of their Regeneration and Adoption. Our Prayer, says he, is prefaced with this Title: For it belongs to them only to say *Our Father*, who can give him thanks for the Gifts which they have received, and shew forth them all in that Name. For he that calls God his Father, confesses the Adoption of Sons; and he who confesses the Adoption of Sons, owns and declares both Justification and Sanctification, and Redemption and Remission of Sins, and the Gifts of the Holy Spirit: for all these must go before, that we may hereby enjoy the Adoption of Sons, and be thought worthy to call God our Father.

P. 518.

P. 519.

P. 823.

P. 834.

P. 836.

In his Comment on the 137th Psalm he declares that the Psalmody was performed partly by the Priests, and partly by the Peoples joining with them; the Priests began, and the People answer'd to them. In his Sermon on the 145th Psalm he tells us, that Psalm was used to be sung in the Passion-Week. In his first Sermon on *Isaiah* he says, the *Trisagion* was sung by the Seraphims in Heaven above, and by Men on Earth beneath: and elsewhere he takes notice of the Angelical *Doxology*, *Glory be to God on high*, as used in the Church. And the Forms, *Κύριε ἰλέησον*, and *σῶσον*, *Lord have mercy upon us*, and *Lord save us*, as usual Prayers and Responses of the People. And when he reproves the Peoples Clamours, and Negligence, and indecent Gesticulations in the Church, he reprimands them thus, How dare you mix the Devil's Sport with this *Doxology* of Angels? Why do you not revere the Words which you yourselves use in that Place, *Serve the Lord in Fear, and rejoice unto him with Reverence*? Is this to serve him in Fear, when you thus theatrically toss and stretch your Bodies, and know not what you say yourselves for your disorderly Vociferation?

P. 554.

Vid. tom. 5.

Hom. 6. p. 107.

Hom. 6. p. 237.

Hom. 38. p. 570.

In his fourth Tome he shews that the Lord's Prayer was used as an usual part of the Communion Service, from the Argument whereby he presses the People to lay aside their Anger, and pardon

pardon Injuries; How will you otherwise, says he, take the holy Sacrament into your hands, and use the Words of that Prayer wherein we are commanded to say, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us*, if you exact Punishment of your Debtor?

In his third Homily of Repentance, and in his second Epistle to *Olympias*, he speaks of the Seraphical Hymn under the Title of *μυστικὸν μέλος*, the mystical Song, because it was used in the Celebration of the holy Mysteries. And in his Sermon after his Return from Banishment he speaks of the Form *εἰρήνη ὡς ᾤσιν*, *Peace be to you all*, as a solemn Form us'd frequently in the Church.

In the fifth Tome he no less than eight times mentions the Lord's Prayer as a Form in common Use by the Commandment of Christ. In his thirty sixth Homily upon the Pentecost he says, Praying by the Lord's Prayer is praying by the Spirit: His Words are these, If there was no Holy Ghost, we who are Believers could not pray to God; for we say, *Our Father which art in Heaven*. As therefore we could not say that Jesus was the Lord, so neither could we call God our Father without the Holy Ghost. How doth that appear? From the same Apostle who says, *Because ye are Sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your Hearts, crying Abba, Father*. In his sixty second Homily he says, This Prayer was the peculiar Privilege of the Faithful, and not allowed to any unbaptized Catechumen: for before we have washed away our Sins in the Font of the holy Waters, we cannot call God our Father; but when we return from thence, having put off the Burden of our Sins, then we say, *Our Father which art in Heaven*.

In his sixteenth Homily he takes notice of the Use of the Seraphical Hymn, as he does also in the forty seventh. In the thirty sixth and fifty second he treats at large of the antient Form of Salutation, with the Peoples Answer: Our common Father and Teacher, says he, meaning the Bishop, when he goes up into his Throne, says, *Peace*

P. 562.

P. 715.

P. 971.

P. 552.

P. 934.

Vid. tom. 7.

Hom. 20. p. 200.

Vid. Hom. 6. in

Coloss. p. 235.

P. 229.

P. 632.

P. 553.

P. 713.

**Book XIII.** *Peace be to you all, and you all make answer with one common Voice, And with thy Spirit.* Neither do you make this Answer only when he goes into his Throne, or when he preaches to you, or when he prays for you, but also when he is about to offer that tremendous Sacrifice at the Holy Table; before he touches the Elements lying thereon, he prays, *The Grace of the Lord be with you, and ye reply, And with thy Spirit;* reminding your selves by this Answer, that it is not the Minister that effects any thing in this Matter, neither is the Consecration of the Gifts the Work of human Nature, but that it is the Grace of the Spirit then present, and descending upon the Elements, which consummates that mystical Sacrifice.

Vid. tom. 7.

Hom. 33. P. 318.

& Tom. 9. Hom.

36. p. 652.

P. 491.

P. 375, 377.

P. 108.

P. 600.

In the fifty second Homily of the sixth Tome, mention is made of the antient Custom of saying, *δόξα σοι κύριε*, Glory be to thee, O Lord, at the reading of the Gospel: When we are met together, says he, in the Ecclesiastical Theatre, as soon as the Deacon opens the Book of the Gospels, we all look upon him with Silence; and when he begins to read, we rise up presently, and say, Glory be to thee, O Lord. And before this, in the thirty seventh Homily, we may find plain References and Allusions to the usual Forms of the Church, viz. to the Deacons vested in their proper Habit, calling to all Non-Communicants to withdraw; to the Seraphical Hymn, and the Lord's Prayer.

In the eleventh Homily of the seventh Tome, our Author mentions the Peoples joining in Psalmody, and the accustomed Prayers. In the sixty ninth Homily, speaking of the Monks, and their Manner of worshipping God, he says, As soon as they were out of their Beds, they made a Quire, and sang Hymns to God, *οὐρανὸς ἀναστήσας* &c. *ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος*, all together, with one Voice, and as it were with one Mouth; among which they particularly addressed that angelical Hymn to God, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men.* In his seventy second Homily he speaks

ſpeaks of three Prayers; one ſof which was for the Demoniacks, the ſecond for the Penitents, and the third for the Faithful or Communicants, all conceived in a certain Form of Words, as is evident from what is ſubjoined to the laſt of theſe Prayers, viz. That the Children of the Church joined vocally in them with the reſt of the People in crying to God for Mercy.

In his forty ſecond Homily of the eighth Tome, he ſpeaks of the Lord's Prayer, as a Form of ſpiritual Prayer, which Chriſt taught his Diſciples and all Chriſtians. And again he ſays, Hom. 44.

Every good Chriſtian uſed it daily, ſaying thoſe holy Words, *Thy Kingdom come*, implying a Belief of the Reſurrection. In another Place he makes mention of Hymns and Pſalmody as Hom. 61.

the Honour of Chriſtian Funerals. And after this he takes notice of the Kiſs of Peace, and Hom. 77.

the Common Prayers made for the whole State of the World, in the Communion-SERVICE: We ſalute one another, ſays he, in the Holy Myſteries, that being many, we may be made one; and we make common Prayers for thoſe who are unbaptiz'd, and Supplications for the Sick, and for the Fruits of the World both by Sea and Land. Vid. Hom. 2. in Epist. 2. ad Corinth. p. 745.

In his nineteenth Homily on the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, he ſpeaks of ſeveral cuſtomary Forms obſerved in the Reading of the Scriptures. In the twenty Vid. etiam Hom. 3. in 2 Theſſ. p. 1502.

fiſt, he refers to the Bidding-Prayer of the Deacon, in which he was uſed to admoniſh the People in theſe Words, among many other Petitions:

Let us pray for thoſe that ſleep in Chriſt, and for thoſe that make Commemorations for them, for the Church, for the Prieſts, for the People, for the Martyrs, &c. And in the twenty fourth Homily he mentions the Hymns, meaning the *Trifagion*, that were uſed by all in common at the Communion-Table.

In his ſeventh Homily of the ninth Tome, he p. 68. ſpeaks of common Prayer ſent up to God with one Voice for the Energumens, or Perſons vex'd with evil Spirits: which Expreſſion muſt imply a cer-



Book XIII.



tain Form, for the People could not pray with *one Voice*, unless a Form of Words was some way or other dictated to them. The Spirit of Praying was in the earliest times an extraordinary Gift, like that of Tongues, and at first both the Matter and Words of their Prayers were inspir'd in an extraordinary way ; but since the miraculous Gifts have ceased, the Deacons pray'd by ordinary Forms, without any such immediate Inspiration, as St. *Chrysostom* elsewhere informs us.

In his Comment on the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he rehearses the Heads of the solemn Thanksgiving at the Consecration of the Eucharist : We rehearse, says he, over the Cup the ineffable Blessings of God, and whatever Benefits we enjoy ; and so we offer it at the Holy Table, giving him thanks that he hath deliver'd Mankind from Error ; that when we were afar off, he hath made us near ; that when we had no hope, and were without God, he hath made us Brethren, and Fellow-Heirs with himself : for these and all the like Blessings we give him thanks, and so come to his Holy Table. In the fortieth Homily he observes, that every Person at his Baptism was by the Rule of the Church obliged to make profession of his Faith in the solemn Words of the *Creed*. And in the forty first, he again mentions part of the solemn Form of Prayer for the Dead, then in use in the Church.

P. 688.

P. 702.

P. 740.

P. 743.

P. 775.

P. 872.

P. 873.

In his second Homily on the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he styles the Lord's Prayer, *ἐν ᾗ καὶ νενόμισται*, the Prayer which Christ brought in and established by Law in his Church ; and there also he mentions several Forms of the Deacons calling upon the People to pray : and a little after he recites the usual Form of Renunciation in Baptism. In his fifth Homily he speaks of the Obligation Men have to use the Lord's Prayer. And in his eighteenth he intimates a Form used by the People at the time of ordaining Ministers. And a little after, he says the People had a considerable share in the Prayers of the Church, the Reason whereof he tells us was on purpose to excite

cite the Vigilance of those that are in an inferior Station, that we may learn we are all one Body, and only differ as one Member may differ from another; and that we should not cast all upon the Priests, but ourselves be concerned in the Care of the whole Church, as of one common Body.

In his first Homily on the *Ephesians*, he again speaks of the Forms of Profession used in Baptism. Tom. 10. p. 1037  
What is more gracious, saith he, than those Words by which we renounce the Devil? by which we covenant with Christ? What more gracious than that Profession which we make both before and after Baptism? In the third Homily he mentions P. 1051. the Deacon's Form of Words to such as were under the Church's Censures to withdraw from the Lord's Table, *Ye that are in the State of Penitence depart*; and after their Departure, to the Communicants, *Let us pray in common all together*. In the fourteenth Homily he argues from the P. 1127. Use of the Lord's Prayer, That Men should not revile those whom they therein own'd to be their Brethren: For if he is not thy Brother, how dost thou say, *Our Father*, that Word denoting many Persons? And to shew the Indecency of such contumelious Usage, he reminds them of their known Custom in singing the sacred Hymns, with Cherubims and Seraphims, at the Communion, whose Mouth is continually employ'd in fulfilling one necessary Office, that of glorifying and praising God: How then can you say with them, Holy, Holy, Holy, who use your Mouth to revile your Brethren? You converse with Angels, you are honoured with the Kiss of the Lord; God adorns your Mouth so many ways with angelical Hymns, with Meat not angelical, but above Angels, with his own Kisses and Embraces; and do you still accustom your self to reviling?

In the twenty third Homily he says, Jesus, the P. 1190. Son of the Living God, hath brought down to us the Celestial Hymns. And much to the same purpose he speaks in the ninth Homily on the *Colossians*. P. 1380. In the P. 1852. 15th Homily on the *Philippians*, he positively asserts P. 1312.

Book XIII.

P. 1385.

P. 1337, 8, 9.

P. 1358.

P. 1359.

P. 1553.

that Christ deliver'd the Lord's Prayer as a Form of Prayer, which in the tenth Homily on the *Colossians*, he styles, *εὐχὴ πιστῶν*, the Prayer of the Faithful. From the several Forms of Benediction of Peace, in the third Homily on the *Colossians*, which he there frequently repeats, he says to the People, Is it not absurd, that when we so often hear Peace mentioned, we should still be at war among our selves? We receive the Salutation of Peace, and return it to him that gives it, and yet are at war with him, and as soon as we are gone out of the Church calumniate and revile him. In his sixth Homily on the *Colossians*, he compares the Forms of Renunciation in Baptism, and covenanting with Christ, to an Hand-writing or Bond, saying, Let us beware that we be not convicted by it, after we have said those Words, We renounce thee, O Satan, and we make a Covenant with thee, O Christ.

In the sixth Homily on 1 *Timothy*, he proves that Infidels are pray'd for as well as others, from the Use of the Lord's Prayer: For when he that prays, says, *Thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven*; the Meaning is, That as there is no Infidel in Heaven, so we pray that there may be none on Earth.

Besides these and many other Passages out of *St. Chrysostom's Works*, we must not pass by a Remark which *Sir H. Savil* makes on the sixth Homily of Repentance, where he observes this Difference between *David's Psalms*, and the rest of the Scriptures, that the others were read only twice a week in publick, but the Psalms were used by all sorts of Men, in all Places, and upon all Occasions. *In Ecclesiis pernoctantibus primus, & medius, & novissimus est David*: When they held their Vigils all night in the Church, *David's Psalms* were in the Beginning, and Middle, and End of all their Service. The same was observed in their Morning Prayer, in their Funeral Obsequies, by Virgins at their Needle, by the illiterate and unlearned, who tho they could not read a Letter in the Book, could yet repeat

repeat *David's* Psalms by heart. *David* was always in their Mouths, not only in the Cities and the Churches, but in the Courts, in the Monasteries, in the Desarts, and the Wilderness: He turned Earth into Heaven, and Men into Angels, being adapted to all Orders, and all Capacities, Children, young Men, Virgins, old Men, and Sinners.



C H A P. VII.

*Of the Use of the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy of the antient Church.*

**B**Efides the Authorities of *St. Chrysostom*, who, as we have seen in the former Chapter, very frequently asserts the Lord's Prayer to be a common Form in use in the Christian Church, by the exprefs Command of Christ; we shall now go on to shew that other Antients did not only esteem it as a Rule and Pattern to conform our Prayers to, but looked upon it as a particular Form of Prayer which Christ enjoined all his Disciples to use in the same Words that he deliver'd them.

*Tertullian* says, Our Lord prescribed a new Form of Prayer for his new Disciples of the New Testament; and that tho' *John* had taught his Disciples a Form of Prayer, yet all that he did was only as a Fore-runner to Christ; when Christ was increased, then the whole Work of the Servant pass'd over to the Lord. And therefore it is not so much as extant now in what Words *John* taught his Disciples to pray, because earthly things were to give way to heavenly. So again, The Religion of Prayer was ordained by Christ himself; and this Prayer being animated by his Spirit from the time that it came out of his heavenly Mouth, ascends up to Heaven with a Privilege commending to the Father what the Son taught.



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Ibid. cap. 9.

Cypr. de Orat.  
Domin. p. 139.

Ibid. p. 141.

St. Aug. de Pec-  
car. l. 3. c. 13.  
& Hom. 29. tom.  
10. p. 150.Hom. 62. tom.  
3, &c.Constit. Apostol.  
lib. 7. c. 44.

Hom. 83. p. 556.

Hom.

taught. But because our Lord who foresaw the Necessities of Man, after he had given this Rule of praying, said also, *Ask and ye shall receive*, and there are many things which Mens particular Circumstances oblige every one to ask; therefore we have a right to make additional Requests, and build other Prayers upon this, always premising this appointed and ordinary Prayer as the Foundation.

After the same manner, St. *Cyprian* says, that Christ, among many other wholeſom Admonitions and divine Precepts, by which he provided for the Salvation of his People, has given us also a Form of Prayer, teaching and admonishing us what we are to pray for. And a little after, we are to learn from our Lord's Information what we are to pray for.

St. *Austin* says, If any one say that this Prayer is not necessary in this Life for every Saint of God that knows and does the Will of God, he is in a manifest Error, and pleases not that God whom he pretends to praise. For this Prayer which we use, was given as a Rule to the Apostles by the heavenly Law-giver, who said to them, pray thus. He enjoined the Rans of his Flock, the Leaders of his Sheep, the chief Members of the great Shepherd, to use it; and the whole Church will continue its Use to the end of the World. And accordingly we find there was no considerable Divine Office, in the Celebration of which this Prayer did not always make a solemn part.

*Chrysostom* has in many Places observed, that as soon as the Person baptized rises out of the Water, he is to say those Words, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, &c. And the Author of the *Constitutions* says, Immediately after a Person is baptized, let him stand and pray the Prayer which the Lord hath taught us.

In like manner, in the Celebration of the other Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, it was commonly used at the Close of the Consecration Prayer. So it is expressly noted by St.

*Austin*, After the Sanctification of the Sacrifice

we  
we

we say the Lord's Prayer: And again, the whole Church almost concludes the Prayer of Benediction and Sanctification with the Lord's Prayer; and on this account he tells his Hearers that all who were Communicants heard this Prayer said daily at the Altar. St. Cyril gives the same account of it: After the Oblation-Prayer we say that Prayer which our Saviour deliver'd to his Disciples, calling God our Father with a pure Conscience, and saying, *Our Father*, &c. And St. Jerom says, That Christ taught his Apostles this Prayer, that Believers might every day, in the Sacrifice of his Body, have boldness to say, *Our Father which art in Heaven*.

Chap. 7.

Hom. 42.

Carech. Mystic.  
5. p. 298.

Hieron lib. 3.  
cont. Pelag. c. 5.

It also made a part in their daily Morning and Evening Prayers, as will appear more particularly hereafter. And they used it likewise in their private Devotions; as is evident from that Passage in St. Chrysostom on the 112th Psalm, where he says, that Christ to induce us to Unanimity and Charity, enjoins us to make common Prayer, and obliges the whole Church, as if it were but one Person, to say, *Our Father*, and *give us this Day*, &c. and *forgive us*, &c. and *lead us not*, &c. always using a Word of the plural Number, and commanding every one, whether he prays alone by himself, or in common with others, still to make Prayers for his Brethren. In another place he gives us an Instance in the Practice of an holy Man, who to the Form of his private Devotions, always added the Lord's Prayer, making it both the Conclusion and uniting Tye of all his other Prayers for all Men.

Chrysof. Com.  
in Psal. 112.  
p. 369.

Hom. 17. in Co-  
loss. p. 1385.

In compliance with this general Practice it is that the Author of the *Constitutions* orders every one to use the Lord's Prayer three times a day. And the fourth Council of *Toledo* makes it Depri-  
vation for any Clergyman to omit using the Lord's Prayer daily, either in his publick or private Offices of Devotion, censuring him as a proud Contemner of the Lord's Injunctions. And by this constant and daily Use, it took the Name of *Oratio Quotidiana*, or the Daily Prayer, which

Constit. lib. 7.  
c. 24.

Con. Toled. 4.  
can. 9.

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which not only Catholicks but also Hereticks and Schismatics joined in. For tho the *Pelagians* could not relish that one Petition in it, *Forgive us our Trespases*, thinking themselves to have done nothing to ask Forgiveness for; and those ill Men St. *Chrysostom* mentioned above, left out the latter part of that Petition, *As we forgive them that trespass against us*, to keep up Revenge: yet all continued to use the Prayer either in whole or in part; and there is no Instance to be found among the Antients of any that totally rejected it.

Cyprian de Orat.  
Domini, p. 139.

And as there was no Objection against it in those Days for its being a Form, so we find it recommended as the most spiritual and prevalent Prayer that could be used, on the account of the Dignity of its Author. St. *Cyprian* thus argues for the Use of it: Christ, says he, had foretold that the *Hour was coming* when the true Worshipers should worship the Father in Spirit and Truth; and he fulfilled what he had promised before, that we who had received the Spirit and Truth by his Sanctification, might worship in Spirit and Truth by his Tradition, or the Prayer he deliver'd to us. For what Prayer can be more spiritual than that which is given us by Christ, by whom the Holy Spirit is sent to us? What can be esteemed a truer Prayer with the Father than that which came out of the Mouth of his Son, who is Truth itself? So that to pray otherwise than he hath taught us, is not only Ignorance, but a Crime, since he hath laid it down, and said, Ye reject the Commandment of God to establish your own Tradition. Let us therefore, my dearly beloved Brethren, pray as our God and Master taught us. It is a friendly and familiar way of praying, to beseech God in his own Words, to let the Prayer of his Son come up to his Ears. Let the Father hear and acknowledge the Words of his Son, when we make our Prayers; let him that dwells in our Hearts be also in our Voice. And forasmuch as we have him our Advocate with the Father for our Sins, when we Sinners pray for the Pardon of our Sins, let us bring

bring forth the Words of our Advocate. For since he hath said, that whatever we ask the Father in his Name, he will give it us, how much more efficaciously shall we obtain what we ask in the Name of Christ, if we ask it in his Prayer? All this Discourse he introduces with these Words, He that made us live, taught us to pray by the same Kindness that he confers all other things upon us, that whilst we speak to the Father in the Prayer and Oraison which the Son taught us, we should more easily be heard. So far was this holy Man from thinking the Lord's Prayer a dead Form that could not be offer'd with the true Spirit of Prayer, that on the contrary he labours to convince Men that no Prayer could be more justly stiled worshipping God in Spirit and in Truth, or with greater Efficacy and Advantages be presented to the Father. And *St. Chrysostom* Hom. 36. tom. 5. was of the same mind, that praying by the Lord's Prayer might justly be termed praying by the Spirit, as hath been said in the last Chapter. And *St. Austin* is so far from derogating from the Lord's Prayer as void of the Spirit, that in his Exposition of that famous Passage of the Apostle concerning the Assistance of the Spirit in Prayer, he supposes the very Knowledge of it to be antecedently a Work of the Spirit. And in another Place he says, That when Men believe, and hope, and desire, and consider the things they ask of God in the Lord's Prayer, they are then qualified with those Graces of the Spirit, Faith, Hope, and Charity, which are necessary to bring a pious Votary unto God. Now they that say such things as these of the Lord's Prayer, could not possibly conceive any mean thing about it derogatory to the Spirit of Prayer, but may be presumed to entertain very high and venerable Notions of it. And that they did so, is evident from one thing farther, very observable in the antient Discipline and Practice, which was, that then the Use of the Lord's Prayer was so far from being thought a Mark of Infamy or Reproach, that it was esteemed an honorary Privilege, and allowed to none

Hom. 36. tom. 5. P. 552.

Rom. 8. 26. Aug. Ep. 21. ad Probam, cap. 14.



Book XIII. none but Communicants or compleat Christians, as we have had occasion to take notice of above.



## C H A P. VIII.

*Of the Use of Habits, and Gesture, and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Service of the antient Church.*



THE next things to be spoken of are the Circumstances and Ceremonies of Habits, Gestures and Times appropriated to divine Service; of all which it may be said in general, that as they are matters of indifferent Usage in their own Nature, so the Church used her liberry in the Appointment and Observation of them. Several Writers of the *Romish* Church pretend that the Apostles themselves wore a distinct Habit in all their sacred Ministrations; but till they can produce better Arguments to support their Opinion, we must look upon it as uncertain Tradition, which affords but little Light in this matter.

But in the Beginning of the fourth Century, when the Church was quietly compos'd by *Constantine*, and settled in Peace, we are certain a Distinction was made in the Habits and Vestments of divine Service. For that Emperour is said to have given a rich Vestment embroider'd with Gold to *Macarius*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to be worn by him when he celebrated the Service of Baptism. *Athanasius* laid a Tax upon the *Egyptians*, to raise a Fund for the Linen Vestments of the Church. *St. Jerom* mentions frequently this Distinction of Habits as generally observed in his time. In his Commentary on *Ezekiel* he says, The Religion of God has one Habit

Theod. l. 2. c. 27.

Athan. Apol. 2.  
P. 778.

C. 44. p. 668.

Habit in its Ministry, and another for the common Uses of Life. In his Book against *Pelagius* he says, What Harm or Enmity, I pray, is it against God if I use a more cleanly Garment? or if a Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon, or any other of the Ecclesiastical Order, come forth in a white Vestment when they administer the Sacraments? Of *Nepotian* he says, that in his ordinary wearing he used the *Pallium*, or Cloak that was in common use among Christian Philosophers, but in his Ministrations he used a Tunicle. *Nazianzen* having represented the Deacons standing in ἱμασὶ ταυρανόωσι, in their bright and shining Garments, tells us that the common Names for them were ἱμασίων and σιχδέσων which all the Clergy wore. The Council of *Laodicea* mentions another little Habit call'd the *Orarium*, which was a Scarf or Tippet to be worn upon the left Shoulder of the Deacons, but on both Shoulders of Priests and Bishops. The Author of the *Questions* of the *Old and New Testament* speaks also of the *Dalmatica* as worn both by Bishops and Deacons; but no antient Writer having satisfied us whether it was then a Garment of sacred Use, we shall content ourselves with the Proofs already alledged for the Distinction of Habits in the sacred Service of the Church.

The next considerable Circumstance in the Worship of Christians was the Posture observed in their Addresses and Adorations of God: and of this we find four Kinds generally practised and allowed, viz. Standing, Kneeling, Bowing, and Prostration. Standing was the general Observation of the whole Church on the Lord's Day, and the fifty Days between *Easter* and *Pentecost*, in memory of our Saviour's Resurrection. And this Custom *Irenaeus* says took its rise from the times of the Apostles. *Tertullian* speaks of it as an Observation among many others handed down from antient Tradition. And *Cyprian* may be supposed to hint it, when he speaks of their standing in Prayer. The Author under the

Name

Chap. 8.

L. 1. contra Pelag.

Ep. 3. ad Heliod.

L. 7. de Formul.

Can. 22, 23.

Aug. Qu. 4. tom. 4.

De Cor. Mil.

De Orat. p. 152.

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Justin, Quæst.  
&c. 115.

Strom. 7. p. 854.

Can. 20.

Hil. in Psalm.  
p. 189.  
Epiphani. Expof.  
Fid. n. 22.  
Hieron. Dial.  
&c.  
Cassian. Inſtit.  
l. 2.

Ap. Grabe Spec.  
tom. 1. p. 96.

Arn. l. 1. p. 25.

L. 2. c. 23.

Name of *Justin Martyr* gives this account of both Postures in Prayer. Forasmuch, saith he, as we ought to remember both our Fall by Sin, and the Grace of Christ by which we rise again from our Fall, therefore we pray *kneeling* six Days as a Symbol of our Fall by Sin; but our not *kneeling* on the Lord's Day is a Symbol of the Resurrection, whereby through the Grace of Christ we are delivered from our Sins, and from Death that is mortified thereby.

*Clement* of *Alexandria* says, Our Tradition is not to kneel on the Lord's Day, because then our Lord rose from the dead. And to bring all Churches to an Uniformity in this Practice, the Council of *Nice* made a Canon that on the Lord's Day Prayers be made to God *standing*. After this *St. Hilary*, *Epiphanius*, *St. Jerom*, *St. Austin* and *St. Basil* speak of it as an Apostolical Practice not to worship *kneeling* on the Lord's Day, or the fifty Days between Easter and Pentecost, because according to *Cassian* kneeling was a Sign of deep Repentance and Mourning, which they omitted on those Days out of respect and reverence to our Saviour's Resurrection.

But at other times Kneeling was the most common and ordinary Posture of Devotion, which they used at their ordinary Morning and Evening Service on the weekly Days, and on the Fast or Stationary Days, so called from their continuing or prolonging their devotional Exercise in imitation of the military Stations. It would be endless to cite all the Testimonies that may be alledged for this Posture of kneeling. The Author of the Acts of *Thecla* gives Prayer the Name of *κλίσις γονάτων*, bending the Knees. And *Arnobius*, when he would describe to the Heathen the manner of Christians performing their divine Offices to God, doth it by saying, They all fell down upon the Earth, as their Custom was, and made their common Prayers to Him. *Eusebius*, speaking of the great Devotion of *St. James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, says, He was wont to go into the Temple alone, and there pray

pray assiduously upon his *Knees*, making intercession for the Sins of the People, till his *Knees* were grown as hard and callous as those of Camels, by continual exercise of his Devotion. And again speaking of the Thundring Legion (who in the time of *M. Aurelius* procured Rain by their Prayers to save the *Roman* Army, and Thunder to destroy their Enemies) he says, They fell upon their *Knees*, as was the usual Custom of Christians in their Prayers, and so made their Supplications to God at the head of the Army as it was going forth to Battle. And *Tertullian* tells *Scapula* that the *Geniculations*, or Prayers on the bended Knee, together with the Fastings of Christians, were always effectual in driving away Drought and Famine. We need not multiply Instances in a Case so clear and uncontested; we shall therefore only observe further, that tho these two Postures of Prayer were very indifferent in their own Nature, yet to interchange them unseasonably one for the other, that is, to pray *kneeling* on the Lord's Day when the Church required *standing*, or *standing* on other Days when the Rules and Customs of the Church required Men to *kneel*, was ever esteemed an Instance of great Negligence or Perverseness. And therefore as the Canons of *Nice* and *Trullo* reflect upon those who were superstitiously bent upon kneeling on the Lord's Day, so others with equal Severity complain of the Remissness and Negligence of such as refuse to kneel at other times when the Church appointed it. It is a very indecent and irregular thing, says *Casarius* of *Arles*, that when the Deacon cries out, Let us bend the Knee, the People should then stand erect as Pillars in the Church. These were but small Observations in themselves, but of great consequence we see when done perversly to the Scandal and Dishonour of the Church, whose great Rule in all such Cases is that of the Apostle, *Let all things be done decently and in order*, 1 Cor. 14. 20.

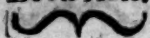
L. 5. c. 5.

C. 4.

Casarius. Arelat.  
Hom. 34.



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L. 8. c. 6.

Hom. 29. t. 1.  
P. 374.

Socr. l. 3. c. 13.

Theodor. l. 5.  
c. 19.

A third Posture of Devotion was bowing down the Head, or an Inclination of the Body, between the Postures of standing and kneeling. This was chiefly used in receiving the Bishop's or Priest's Benediction, in all direct and formal Addresses to God for his Mercy and Favour upon the People, whether *Catechumens*, *Penitents*, or any others. Thus in the *Constitutions* both the *Catechumens* and *Energumens* are bid to bow the Head in order to receive the Bishop's Benediction; and the same is commanded the Candidates for Baptism and the Penitents. This may be confirmed out of St. *Chrysostom*, who says, The Deacon in the time of the Oblation presented the *Energumens*, and bid them bow their Heads only, to indicate at least by the Habit and Gesture of their Body that they were in a praying Posture.

The last Posture of Devotion was *Prostration*, or lying along in the humblest manner upon the Ground. This seems to have been the proper Posture for extraordinary Humiliations, when Men had some singular Request more earnestly to recommend to God. In Scripture we often read of *Moses* and other Saints falling on their Faces when they were to make some extraordinary Intercessions for the Sins of the People: and in imitation of them the same Gesture was sometimes used in the Christian Church. Some Lapsers, when they sued for Admission to a State of Penance, did not only fall down upon their Knees, but prostrate themselves before the faithful to beg their Prayers as they enter'd into the Church. So also whenever any great Necessity urged them with greater Ardency to prefer their Petitions to God, they used this mournful

Posture. Thus *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople*, when in a great Strait about the admission of *Arius* into the Church, prayed to God for many Days and Nights together prostrate on his Face under the Communion Table. And *Theodosius the Great*, when he first enter'd the Church after he had been for some time excluded by St. *Ambrose*, prayed to God neither *standing* nor *kneeling*,

*kneeling*, but *prostrate* with his Face to the Ground, using those Words of the Psalmist, *My Soul cleaveth to the Dust ; O quicken thou me according to thy Word.* Whence we learn that this Posture was chiefly appropriated to deep Humiliations and Expressions of Shame or Sorrow on some very remarkable Occasion, but scarce ever used as a general Practice of the Church.

Psal. 119.

The Posture of *Sitting*, which some contend for as a Posture of Adoration, never had any Allowance in the Practice of the antient Church. Cardinal *Perron*, and others in the *Romish* Church, pretend this was the Posture in which the Apostles received the Communion at its first Institution, and that this was then a common Posture of Adoration used among the Heathens; but the learned Mr. *Daille* has abundantly exposed this Pretence, and shew'd that neither did the Heathens sit at their Devotion, nor did the Apostles communicate *sitting*, but *lying along* on Beds or Couches; nor did the primitive Christians ever use or take *sitting* for a Posture of Devotion.

Daill. de Objecto Cultus Relig. lib. 2. c. 2.

Besides this there were some other superstitious Observations, which *Tertullian* tells us, some Men ran into in their Devotions in imitation of the Heathen. Some thought it necessary to put off their Cloaks when they went to Prayer; and others would not pray without washing the whole Body in Water: the Evil of which Practices consisted not in the bare Use of such things, but in laying the Opinion of Necessity upon them, and affixing Holiness to the Usage, and making them become essential Parts of divine Service.

De Orat. c. 12.

Ibid. c. 11.

But as they disclaimed all such Practices as were attended with Superstition, so they retained such other Rites and Ceremonies as were either proper Expressions of Decency in their own Nature, or by their symbolical Use might be improv'd to a spiritual Advantage. They pray'd with the Head uncover'd, according to the Apostle's Direction, esteeming it a great Indecency to do otherwise, according to Sr. *Chrysostom's* Comment on the Place; but *Tertullian* gives

1 Cor. 11.

gives

## Book XIII.

Apol. c. 30.

Ibidem.

Dial. p. 30.

Paulin. p. 12.

In Psal. 140.

gives another Reason for it, saying, We pray uncover'd, because we are not ashamed to appear with open Face; making it a sort of Testimony or Symbol of their Innocency, to address God without covering.

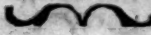
They pray'd likewise usually with their Arms expanded, and their Hands lifted up to Heaven, and that sometimes in the Form of a Cross, to represent our Saviour's Passion. This is noted by *Minucius*, when he says, They worshipped God with a pure Mind, and their Hands stretched forth in the Form of a Cross. After this manner *St. Ambrose* is described in his last Minutes praying to God; and *Origen* says, this Posture was to represent the lifting up of their Hearts to God in the Heavens. *St. Chrysostom* more largely sets forth the Use of it in explaining those Words of the Psalmist, *Let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening-Sacrifice*. What means, says he, the stretching forth our Hands in Prayer? Because they are instrumental in many sorts of Wickedness, as fighting, Murder, Robbery, and rapacious Avarice, therefore we are commanded to lift them up, that the Ministry of Prayer may tie them up from Vice, and deliver them from Wickedness; that when you are inclined to rob, or plunder, or smite your Neighbour, you should then remember that these Hands are the Advocates as it were, which you are to send forth to God, and by which you are to offer the spiritual Sacrifice of Prayer to him; and therefore you ought not to dishonour them, and destroy their Confidence by letting them minister to wicked Actions, but rather cleanse them by Alms-Deeds, and Humanity, and Assistance of those that are in want, and so lift them up in Prayer to God: For if you cannot endure to lift up unwashen Hands, how much less should you think it meet to defile them with Sin? Whence it appears that these Ceremonies both of washing and lifting up of Hands in Prayer, were of spiritual use, and designed for pious ends, to put Men in mind of internal Purity by external Symbols,

Symbols, and that this Significancy was the chief thing that could justify and account for the Use of them as Ceremonies in divine Service.

But tho they allowed of such decent and significant Ceremonies, yet they were great Enemies to all light and theatrical Gestures. They required a modest, grave, and well-composed Behaviour in all external Deportment, as thinking no other becoming the Majesty of God, or the Character of those that were to address him. Upon this account *Tertullian* requires a Modesty and Humility in his Votaries, even in lifting up their Hands in Prayer; that they should not toss them up indecently on high, nor appear with a Countenance expressing Elation and Boldness; because the *Publican's* Humility and Dejection was more commendable than the Audaciousness of the *Pharisee*. He requires also a gentle and submissive Voice, since God did not hear Men for the Sound of their Words, or the Strength of their Lungs or Arteries, but the Fervency of their Hearts; and they that were loud in Prayer, he tells them, did nothing else but hinder their Neighbour's Devotion.

St. *Cyprian* expresses himself much after the same way, in his Directions about the manner of praying: Let them that pray, says he, do it with an orderly Voice, expressing Quietness and Modesty. Let us consider our selves as standing in the sight of God, and that we are to please the Divine Eyes both with the Habit and Gesture of our Body, and with the Manner of our Voice: For as it is the Sign of an impudent Man to make a clamorous Noise, so it becomes a modest Man to use Modesty in his Prayers. Therefore when we meet together with our Brethren, and celebrate the divine Sacrifices with the Priests of God, we ought to be mindful of Reverence and Discipline, not tossing out our Prayers with a rude and disorderly Voice, nor with a tumultuous Loquacity pouring forth those Petitions which ought to be recommended modestly to God: for God is not the Hearer of the Voice, but the



Book XIII. Heart ; neither needs he to be reminded by  
 Noise and Clamour, who sees the Thoughts of Men.

Hom. 1. de Ver-  
 bis Esai. t. 3.  
 p. 836.

Vid. Hom. 19.  
 in Mar. p. 195.

St. *Chrysostom* has several sharp Invectives against some, who accustoming themselves to see the *Roman* Games and Plays, brought the Manners of the Stage into the Church, and corrupted their Devotions with theatrical Gestures. It may be sufficient to relate a few Words out of a single Passage in one of his Homilies to this purpose : O unhappy Wretch, says he, thou oughtest with Reverence and Fear to send up the Angelical Hymn, and with Trembling make Confession to God, and thereby ask pardon for thy Offences. Instead of this, thou bringest into the Church the Manners of Mimicks and Dancers, by a disorderly tossing up thy Hands, and beating with thy Feet, and Agitation of thy whole Body. Dost thou not consider that the Lord himself is present, who measures every Man's Motions, and examines their Consciences ? Dost thou not consider that the Angels stand by this tremendous Table, and surround it with Fear ? But thou considerest none of these things, because thy Mind is blinded with what thou hast heard and seen in the Theatres ; and the things which are done there, thou bringest into the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and with insignificant Clamours bewrayest the Disorder of thy Soul. How canst thou expect to incline God to Mercy, who offerest thy Prayer with such Contempt ? Thou say'st, *Lord have mercy on me*, whilst thy Behaviour proclaims it self a Stranger to Mercy. Thou cryest out, *Lord save me*, whilst the whole Deportment of thy Body is in opposition to Salvation. For what can those Hands, which are always toss'd up on high, and disorderly rolled about, contribute toward Prayer ? Or what use can there be in vehement Clamour, and violent Impulse of the Spirit, that has nothing in it but Sound and Noise without Signification ? These are more the Practices of Strumpets on the High-way, or Actors on the Theatres.

tres. And how darest thou to mingle the Sports of Devils with that Doxology whereby Angels glorify God? Thus far St. *Chrysostom*, in his Warmth and Zeal against the Corruptions that were creeping in upon Devotion by absurd and ridiculous Gestures.

To pass by these Irregularities, proceed we now to other Observations of the Church. And here, not to repeat the Ceremony of Respect and Reverence paid by the primitive Christians at the Entrance into their Churches, particularly of Kings and Emperors, who laid aside their Crowns, and Arms, and Guards at that time; in imitation probably of the old *Roman* Magistrates, who are said to lay aside their Fasces and other Ensigns of Honour whenever they went into the Schools of Philosophy at *Athens*; not to mention again that other Custom of Respect observ'd by the Monks of *Egypt*, of putting off their Shoes when they went into the House of God, or the antient Ceremony of bowing towards the Altar at their first Entrance into the Church; to which may be added the Bishop's usual Form of saluting the People, *Pax vobis, Peace be with you*, at his first Entrance into the Church: I say, not to repeat our notice of these Ceremonies, St. *Chrysostom* mentions another very laudable Custom, the Practice whereof he uses all his Rhetorick to promote and encourage, and that was the Peoples giving Alms to the Poor at their first Entrance into the Church: For this reason, says he, our Forefathers appointed the Poor to stand before the Doors of our Churches, that the Sight of them may provoke the most backward and inhuman Soul to Compassion. And as by Law and Custom we have Fountains before our Oratories, that they who go in to worship God, may first wash their Hands, and so lift them up in Prayer; so our Ancestors instead of Fountains and Cisterns, placed the Poor before the Doors of the Church, that as we wash our Hands in Water, so we should cleanse our Souls by Beneficence and Charity first, and then go and offer up our Prayers: For Wa-

Pool Synops. Critic, in a Reg.

Hom. 25. de Verbis Apost. 2. 5. p. 369.

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ter is not more adapted by Nature to wash away the Spots of the Body, than the Power of Alms-deeds is to cleanse the Filth of the Soul. As therefore you dare not go in to pray with unwashen Hands, tho' this be but a small Offence, so neither should you without Alms ever enter the Church for Prayer. You many times, when your Hands are clean, will not lift them up to God before you have washed them in Water; so prevalent is the Force of Custom: Let us therefore do the same with respect to Alms-Deeds. And tho' we are not conscious to ourselves of any great and heinous Crimes, yet let us by Charity clear our Consciences of lesser Spots and Blemishes, which we contract in our daily Business and Conversation.

Hom. 1. in 2

Tim.

Hom. 9. de Per-  
nitent. Tom. 1.

And much to the same purpose he speaks in other Places, shewing that Almsgiving was an excellent Custom prevailing among them, and carefully recommended as a just Preparation for Prayer, among many other moral Qualifications for this Duty.

There was one Observation more which must not be omitted, because it was a Ceremony almost of general Use and Practice; and that was the Custom of turning their Faces to the *East* in their solemn Adorations. The Original of this Custom seems to be derived from the Ceremonies of Baptism, in which it was usual to renounce the Devil with their Faces to the *West*, and then turn about to the *East* and make their Covenant with Christ; from whence probably it became their common Custom to worship God after the same way that they had first enter'd into Covenant with him.

The Antients give several Reasons for this Custom, but they all seem to glance at this one.

Some say the *East* was the Symbol of Christ, who was called the Orient, and Light and Sun of Righteousness in Scripture: and therefore since they must worship toward some Quarter of the World, they chose that which led them to Christ by Symbolical Representation. Thus *Tertullian* tells

tells us, that the East was the Figure of Christ, and therefore both their Churches and their Prayers were directed that way. *Clemens Alexandrinus* says, They worshipped toward the East, because the East is the Image of our Spiritual Nativity, and from thence the Light first arises, and shines out of Darkness; and the Day of true Knowledge, after the manner of the Sun, arises upon those who lie buried in Ignorance. And *St. Austin* tells us, When we stand at our Prayers, we turn to the East, whence the Heavens, or the Light of Heaven arises; not as if God was only there, and had forsaken all other Parts of the World, but to put our selves in mind of turning to a more excellent Nature, that is, to the Lord.

*Gregory Nyssen*, *St. Basil*, the Author of the *Constitutions*, *St. Chrysostom*, and many others, give this Reason for their Practice in this Ceremony, viz. That the East was the Place of Paradise, our antient Habitation and Country, which we lost in the first *Adam* by the Fall, and whither we hope to be restor'd again, as to our native Abode and Rest, in the second *Adam*, Christ our Saviour.

The Author of the *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, assigns another Reason for this Custom, as, that the East was the most honourable Part of the Creation, as being the Seat of Light and Brightness. We, says he, set apart the most honourable things to the Honour of God; and the East in the opinion of Men is the most honourable Part of the Creation, we therefore in time of Prayer turn our Faces to the East. And *Lactantius*, without taking any particular notice of this Custom, makes this general Observation, That the East was more peculiarly ascrib'd to God, because he was the Fountain of Light, and Illuminator of all things, and because he makes us rise to eternal Life.

There is one Reason more assigned for this Custom, which is, that Christ made his Appearance on Earth in the East, and there ascended

Chap. 8.

Apol. c. 16.

Strom. 7. p. 856.

De Serm. Dom. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Nyss. Hom. 1. de Orat. t. i. Basil de Sp. S. c. 27. Conf. lib. 2. Coelest. Not. in Constit. 1, 2.

Just. Quest. ad Orthod. q. 118.

Lib. 2. c. 10.



Book XIII. into Heaven, and there will appear again at the last Day. This is one of the three Answers given under the Name of *Athanasius* to this Question: If a *Christian* asks the Question, he is to be told, They looked toward Paradise, beseeching God to restore them to their antient Country and Region, from whence they were expell'd. If a *Heathen* put the Question, the Answer should be, Because God is the true Light; for which reason, when they looked upon the created Light, they did not worship it, but the Creator of it. If the Question was proposed by a *Jew*, he should be told, They did it because the Holy Ghost had said by *David*, *We will worship toward the Place where thy Foot stood, O Lord*; meaning the Place where Christ was born, and liv'd, was crucified, rose again, and ascended into Heaven. These several Reasons have all a peculiar reference to Christ; and this general Custom among the Antients of turning to the East in all their solemn Adorations, was founded without doubt upon some or all of them, tho we cannot positively determine.

Athan. Quest. ad  
Antioch, Q. 37.

Psal. 132. 7.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the Times of their Religious Assemblies,  
and the several Parts of Divine Service  
performed in them.*



THE only remaining Circumstance of Divine Worship to be enquired into, is that of *Time*, concerning which there is no certain Rule for their meeting in publick, because the Times of their Assemblies varied according to the different State and Ages of the Church. Some are of opinion, which they found on some Places in Scripture, that in the times of the Apostles, and whilst the *Jewish Temple*

Acts 3. 1.  
— 2. 46.

ple stood, Assemblies were held every Day, tho their most solemn Meetings were on the first Day of the Week. But in after Ages, when the Persecutions grew warm, they are thought to have been confined to the Lord's Day.

Chap. 9.  
1 Cor. 16. 2.

*Justin Martyr*, describing the Christian Worship, says, That on the Day called *Sunday* there was a general Meeting of all that lived both in City and Country, when they had the Scriptures read, and a Sermon preach'd, and Prayers, and the Communion. But he mentions no Assembly for publick Worship on any other Day : whence learned Men have concluded, that in his time the Church observed no other Days of solemn Assemblies, but only the Lord's Day. However it was not long after his time, before we are certain the Church observed the Custom of meeting solemnly for divine Worship on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, which Days are commonly call'd the *Stationary Days*, because they continued their Assemblies on these Days to a great length, till three a-clock in the Afternoon ; for which reason they had also the Name of *Semi-jejunia*, or half Fasts, in opposition to the *Lent-Fast*, which always held till Evening ; and *Jejunia Quarta*, and *Sexta Ferie*, the Fasts of the fourth and sixth Days of the Week. *Tertullian* assures us, That on these Days they always celebrated the Communion ; whence we may infer that the same Service was perform'd on these Days as on the Lord's Day, unless perhaps the Sermon was wanting : to supply the Defect of which, and to take up as much time as these Stations required, it seems probable that they enlarged their Service on these Days in their Psalmody and private Prayers, and Confessions of their Sins ; for their Psalms were lengthen'd to an indefinite number, between every one of which they had liberty to meditate, and fall to their private Prayers, which a learned Person of our own thinks had always a share in their Service, and was generally intermixed with their singing of Psalms.

Apol. 2. p. 98.

Coteler.

Still'ngfleet's Orig. Britan. p. 224.

## Book XIII.

Hom. 7. de Se-  
mente, tom. 1.Ep. Canon. Can.  
13, &c.Institur. lib. 2.  
cap. 6.

Lib. 3. c. 2.

Can. 29.

Lib. 5. c. 20.

In antient Writers we also find frequent mention made of religious Assemblies on the *Saturday*, or seventh Day of the Week, which was the *Jewish Sabbath*, on which we are assured all the same Offices were perform'd, as were used to be on the Lord's Day. *Athanasius* says they met on the *Sabbath*, not that they were infected with *Judaism*, but to worship Jesus, the Lord of the Sabbath. *Timotheus*, one of his Successors in the See of *Alexandria*, says the Communion was administer'd on this as on the Lord's Day.

Among the *Egyptian Churches*, *Cassian* takes notice that the Service of the Lord's Day and the Sabbath was always the same: and again he observes, that in the Monasteries of *Egypt* and *Thebais* they had no publick Assemblies on other Days, besides Morning and Evening, except on Saturday and the Lord's Day, when they met at three a'clock, that is nine in the Morning, to celebrate the Communion. The only Difference that was then made between the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, was, that Christians were not obliged to rest from bodily Labour on the Sabbath, but might work on that Day (so far as divine Service would permit) giving Preference in this respect to the Lord's Day, whereon they were to rest as Christians. And if any transgress'd these Rules about working on the Sabbath, they were to be deem'd *Judaizers*, and are order'd to be anathematized by a Canon of the *Laodicean Council*. Whence it appears that Saturday was kept weekly as a Day of publick Worship, but not as a *Jewish Sabbath*. To this Practice the Author of the *Constitutions* had regard, when he prescribed that on every Sabbath save one (that is, the Saturday before *Easter-Day*) and on every Lord's Day, they should hold religious Assemblies, and keep them as the weekly Festivals, not only with Psalmody, and reading the Scriptures, and common Prayers, which was the ordinary Service of the Morning and Evening every day, but with Sermons also, or preaching the Gospel, and the offering of the Oblation, and Reception of the Holy Food.

Now

Now as these were the two great Festivals of every Week (tho in the *Latin Churches*, except at *Milan*, Saturday was observed as a Fast) so they were commonly usher'd in by the Attendance of preceding Pernoctations, or Vigils, which as Harbingers went before to make preparation for the Solemnities of the following Days. And these, called by the *Greeks* *παραυχιδας*, and by the *Latins* *Pervigilia* and *Pernoctationes*, were so long a Service as to keep the Congregation at Church the greatest part of the Night. *St. Chrysostom* often speaks of them: Go into the Church, says he, and there see the Poor continuing from midnight to break of day; go and see the holy Pernoctations, joining day and night together; behold the People of Christ, fearing neither by night nor by day the Tyranny of Sleep, or the Necessities of Poverty. In another Place he calls them, *παραυχοι καὶ ἀνιπνοὶ* *stations*, the continued and perfect Night-Stations, in opposition to the Stations by Day, which were but partial and imperfect. By these, he adds, you imitate the Station of the Angelical Quire, whilst you offer up Psalmody and Hymnody without ceasing to your Creator. O the wonderful Gifts of Christ! The Armies of Angels sing Glory to God above, and on Earth Men, keeping their Choral Stations in the Church, sing the same Doxology after their example; and so a common general Assembly is made of the Inhabiters of Heaven and Earth together.

Hom. 4. t. 3.

In the *Latin Church* we have the Authority of *St. Jerom*, who interpreting the word *Watcher* in *Daniel* for an Angel, says, We also by our frequent Pernoctations or Night-Watches imitate the Office of Angels. And it appears farther from him, that Women and Virgins frequented this Service as well as Men. But the Council of *Elieberis* thought fit wholly to forbid Women the Observation of these Vigils, because many under pretence of Prayer, were found to commit Wickedness. *St. Ambrose* seems to found this Practice of Vigils upon the Imitation of Christ's Example; The Lord Jesus, says he, continued all night in Prayer,

Com. in Dan. 4. 13.

Ep. 7. ad Lætam, &c.

Can. 35.

Serm. 19. in Ps. 113. ver. 147.



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not that he wanted the Help of Prayer, but to set thee an Example to copy after. He continued all Night praying for thee, that thou mightest learn after what manner to pray for thy self.

But besides these stated Vigils of the two weekly Festivals, some were held upon extraordinary Occasions of Prayer, upon great Emergencies and Necessities of the Church; others were kept as anniversary Vigils to usher in the greater Festivals of the *Nativity*, *Epiphany*, *Resurrection* and *Ascension* of Christ, and the *Descent* of the Holy Ghost; and a third sort, which came almost every Week throughout the Year, were the Vigils of the Festivals of the Martyrs. And these Anniversaries were always in great Repute, and observed with the same Solemnities of divine Worship as the Sabbath, or the Lord's Day; and therefore their Vigils were also celebrated with the same Ceremony as the Vigils or Night-Station of the two great weekly Festivals. *St. Chrysostom* is a Witness of this, who in an Homily upon one of these Festivals takes notice of the preceding Vigil that had continued all the Night, saying, Ye have turned the Night into Day, by keeping your holy Stations all the Night; do not now turn the Day into Night again by Surfeiting and Drunkenness and lascivious Songs. And *Sidonius Apollinaris* testifies, that after they had kept the Vigil of *St. Justus* with alternate Melody, they assembled again by Day at nine in the Morning, when the Priests did *rem divinam facere*, offer the Oblation, or consecrate the Eucharist.

The Original of this publick religious Worship on the Festivals of Martyrs may be carried as high at least as the Time of *Polycarp*, at whose Tomb the Christians of *Smyrna* met and celebrated his Birth-day, or Day of his Martyrdom, with Joy and Gladness, as well for the Memory of the Sufferer, as for Example to Posterity. After this, *St. Cyprian* orders his Clergy to note down the Days of their Decease, that a Commemoration of them might be celebrated amongst the Memories of the Martyrs. And in another Place

Hom. 59. in  
Martyres, l. 5.  
P. 779.

Lib. 5. Ep. 17.

Euseb. lib. 4.  
cap. 15.

Ep. 12. al. 37.

Place he says, They offer'd Sacrifices for them as often as they celebrated their Passions, or Days of Martyrdom, by an Anniversary Commemoration. These Sacrifices were the Sacrifices of Prayer and Thanksgiving to God for the Examples of the Martyrs, and the Celebration of the Eucharist on these Days, and the Offerings of Alms and Oblations for the Poor; which, together with a panegyric Oration or Sermon, and reading the Acts or Passion of the Martyr, if they had any such recorded, were the Exercises and special Acts of Devotion in which they spent these Days.

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Ep. 39.

It may be further observed, that solemn Assemblies for Preaching, and other Acts of Divine Worship, were held every Day during the whole forty Days of *Lent*, and the fifty Festival Days between *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, about the third Century; whence it is not improbable but that during these Seasons they might have the same compleat Worship every Day that they had on the Lord's Day.

Tertul. de Idol. cap. 14.

And about this time we may date the setting up Morning and Evening Prayer daily in the Church. For if the Persecutions would give leave in the third Century to keep fifty Days together as solemn Festivals, there is no reason to imagine that they could not as well meet every Day for their ordinary Devotions: And if *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* were then observed as *Stationary* Days with more than ordinary Attendance, there is little reason to question but that every Day might have an ordinary Vigil or Morning-Assembly. Not long after St. *Cyprian* assures us they received the Eucharist every Day, which is a Demonstration that they had Assemblies for publick Worship every Day, because they did not use to consecrate the Eucharist but in publick Assemblies of the Church. From this time therefore there can be no Dispute about the Church's daily Sacrifice of Prayer in her Morning Assemblies, which in after Ages are called *Cæus Antelucani*, *Vigilia*, & *Hora Nocturna*, because they were a sort of ordinary Vigils,

De Orat. Domina. p. 147.

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Vigils, or Night Assemblies held a little before it was light. The Evening Prayer publick in the Church, the *Greeks* commonly call *αὐχναία*, and the *Latins* *Lucernarium*, because it commonly began at the time when the Day went off, and when they lighted Candles for the Night. It is likewise frequently stiled *Sacrificium vespertinum*, the Evening Sacrifice, and *Missa vespertina*, as those Names are used to signify in general the Service or Prayers of the Church. Besides the foremention'd Morning and Evening Prayer, there were other Times of Prayer commonly called the Canonical Hours, being the first, the third, the sixth and ninth Hours, with the *Completorium* or Bed-time.

Mede Ep. 66.

Pearson Præl. 2.

Instit. 1. 3. c. 2.

They who have made the most exact Enquiries into the Original of these, as fixed Hours of publick Prayer, can find no Footsteps of them in the three first Ages, but conclude they came first into the Church with the Monastick Life. And what confirms this Opinion, is an Observation out of *Cassian*, who particularly describes the Devotions of these canonical Hours, and the gradual Rise of them: He says, The first Monks of *Egypt*, who were the Founders of the Monastick Life, never observed any other canonical Hours for publick Devotion but only Evening and Morning before day; all the rest of their time they spent at Work privately, joining private Meditation of the Scriptures, singing of Psalms and Prayers continually with their Labour. Not long after, the Monasteries of *Mesopotamia* and *Palastine* set up the Practice of meeting publickly at the third, sixth and ninth Hours, for performing their Psalmody and Devotion. And the *Completorium*, or Bed-time Service, was utterly unknown to the Antients, as distinct from the *Lucernaris*, or Evening Service. So that these canonical Hours came gradually into the Church, and are all of them owing to the Rules of the *Eastern* Monasteries for their Original. But even after they were set up in the Monasteries, they were not immediately observed

in

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in all the Churches. For *Epiphanius*, speaking of the Customs of the Catholick Church, mentions no other but the Morning Hymns and Prayers, and the Evening Psalms and Prayers. And *Chrysostom* never speaks of above three times a Day for publick Assemblies. And most of the Writers of the fourth Age, who speak of six or seven Hours of Prayer, speak of the Observations of the Monks only, and not of the whole Body of the Church. But in some Places of the *East*, probably by this time these Hours of Prayer might be admitted into the Churches. For the Author of the *Constitutions*, finding the canonical Hours to be used in some Churches, drew a Scheme of Directions in conformity to that Practice, wherein he prescribes this Rule to be observed by the Bishops in the Church : Ye shall make Prayers in the Morning, and at the third Hour, and the sixth, and the ninth, and at Evening, and at Cock-crowing. In the Morning giving thanks to the Lord, for that he hath enlightened you, removing the Night, and bringing in the Day : At the third Hour, because at that time the Lord received Sentence of Condemnation from *Pilate* : At the sixth Hour, because at that time, after the Lord was crucified, all things were shaken, and mov'd with Horror and Astonishment at the audacious Fact of the impious *Jews*, detesting the Affront that was put upon their Lord : At Evening giving thanks to God, who hath given the Night to be a Rest from our daily Labours : At Cock-crowing, because that Hour brings the welcome News of the Day to work the Works of Light. If you cannot go to Church because of the Infidels, you shall assemble in an House ; or if you can neither assemble in an House nor in the Church, then let every one sing, read and pray by himself, or two or three together ; for where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them.

The Service to be performed in these canonical Hours, after they took place in the Church,

was

Expof. Fid. n. 23.  
tom. 1. p. 1106.

Hom. 18. in Act.  
P. 174.

L. 8. c. 34



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Can. 19.

was short in comparison of the antient Morning and Evening Sacrifice; the whole of which consisted of three Psalms sung, with which some few Prayers were intermixed. The *Gallican* Church indeed had a very different Rule from that of the *Eastern* Monasteries about the Number of Psalms, Hymns and Antiphona's to be said at the several Hours and Times of Prayer. For in one of the Canons of the Council of *Tours*, about the Year 567, a very peculiar Order was made, that the Method of Psalmody and Number of Hymns should be in proportion to the Number of the Hours or Months in which they were used. The new Morning Service was to be performed with six Antiphona's and two Psalms in the height of Summer; in *September* there were to be seven Antiphona's and two Psalms; in *October* eight Antiphona's and three Psalms; in *November* nine and three Psalms; in *December* ten and three Psalms, and the same in *January* and *February* until *Easter*. So again at the sixth Hour there were to be six Psalms and the Hallelujah, and at the twelfth Hour twelve Psalms and the Hallelujah. And in the whole Month of *August* there were to be Manications, early Mattins or Morning Service without any Psalms, because it was Harvest-time, and Men were in haste to be gone to their Labour when they had perform'd the Solemnity of the Festivals, which in that Month were frequent above others.

The first of these Offices was the *Matutina* or *Prima*, the New Morning Service, so called in contradistinction to the Old Morning Service, which was always early before day; whereas this was after the Day was begun. As soon as this was made a canonical Hour, (which was first in the Monastery of *Bethlehem*) the Psalms 51, 63 and 90, were particularly appointed for its Service. The first of these Psalms is what the Antients properly called the Psalm of Confession or penitential Psalm, beginning thus; *Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great Goodness, &c.* And this *Cassian* tells us was used by all the

L. 3. c. 6.

the Churches of *Italy* in his time as the Close of this Morning Service. The second of these Psalms, beginning with these Words, *O God, my God, early will I seek thee, &c.* was always used in the Old *Antelucan* Service, before this New Service was set up. And the third of these Psalms seems to be taken into this Service on the account of some Verses in it that suit the State of human Life.

In all such Churches as admitted the first, was next to this the third Hour, or nine in the Morning. This is mention'd by all Writers that say any thing of Hours of Prayer : some giving this Reason for the Observation of it (besides what the Author of the *Constitutions* had before assigned) viz. in memory of the Holy Ghost's coming upon the Apostles at that Hour, that Men might with one mind worship the Holy Spirit, and beg of him the same Sanctification, Direction and Protection ; imitating *David's* Prayer, and saying, *Create in me a clean Heart, O God, and renew a right Spirit within me.* Whether any particular Psalms were appropriated to this Service, we are not informed ; but this is certain, that the whole Service was omitted on all Festivals, because on Sundays the Communion Service was used, which always began at this Hour.

Basil. Reg. maj.  
Quæst. 37.

The next Hour was the sixth, or Noon-day Service, at which time they used the 90th or 91st Psalm, praying for protection against the Incurfions of the Noon-day Devil ; for so the Words are render'd in the Septuagint, *Thou shalt not be afraid for any Terror, — nor for the Sicknefs, nor the Devil destroying at noon-day.* If they used any other Psalms, 'tis probable they were such as had relation to the Death of Christ, because all agree that this Service was appointed in commemoration of our Saviour's immaculate Sacrifice to the Father at this Hour.

The last Hour of Prayer in the day-time was the ninth Hour, or three in the Afternoon, at which time our Saviour expir'd upon the Cross, and by his Death triumph'd over Death and Hell.

At

## Book XIII.

Acts 10.

Acts 3.

Hom. 12. in

1 Tim. p. 1599.

Can. 18.

At this Hour *Cornelius* was praying, when he was visited by an Angel ; as *Peter* was at the sixth hour, when he had the Vision of the Sheet let down from Heaven. This was the Hour when *Peter* and *John* went up into the Temple, being the Hour of Prayer, and the usual time of the Jewish Evening Sacrifice. At which Hour, *St. Chrysostom*, speaking of the Apostles going into the Temple, says, they observed it not without good reason : For this was the Time when Paradise was opened, and the Thief enter'd into it ; this the Time when the Curse was taken away, when the Sacrifice of the World was offer'd, when the Darkness was dissolved, and the Light, as well sensible as spiritual, shone forth. It was at the ninth Hour, when others after Dinner and Drunkenness sleep a deep Sleep, that they then being sober, and vigilant, and fervent in Love, made haste to Prayer. And if they needed to be so exact and assiduous in Prayer, who had such Boldness, and were conscious of no Evil ; what shall we do who are over-run with Wounds and Sores, and neglect to use the Medicine of Prayer ? We have no particular account in any Writer of the Psalms or Prayers to be used at this Hour, only the Council of *Laodicea* orders that the same Service should be used in that, as was appointed for Evening Prayer : the Consideration of which, together with its Morning daily Service, will be reserved for the two following Chapters.





C H A P. X.

The Order of their Daily Morning Service.

**T**HE most noted and usual Times of meeting for religious Worship, besides those of the Lord's Day, were the Morning and Evening of every Day, which in times of Peace were constantly and regularly observ'd.

The Order for the Morning Service begins with the Appointment of the *ὁρθρινὸς ψαλμὸς*, or Morning - Psalm, which was the sixty third, and was very proper to begin their Morning-Service with, both in relation to the Night past, and the Day approaching: *St. Chrysostom* says that the Fathers of the Church appointed it to be said every Morning as a spiritual Song and Medicine to blot out our Sins, to kindle in us a Desire of God, to raise our Souls, and inflame them with a mighty Fire of Devotion, to make us overflow with Goodness and Love, and send us with such Preparation to approach and appear before God. *Cassian* says that it instructed Men about their Obligations to the Duty of Morning-Prayer; and *Athanasius* recommends it as proper to be said privately in their Morning-Devotions.

Constit. 18. c. 37.

Com. in Psal.  
140. r. 3.

Instit. 1. 3. c. 3.

Ep. ad Marcel.

Immediately after this sixty third (or, as some call it, sixty second) Morning Psalm, follow'd the Prayers for the several Orders of *Catechumens*, *Energumens*, *Candidates of Baptism*, and *Penitents*, as in the general Service of the Lord's Day, which were performed partly by the Deacon's *ἐπεσπαιρέσις*, or bidding the People pray, and repeating the several Petitions they were to make for those several Orders of Men, and partly by the Bishop's In-



Book XIII.



vocation or Benediction said over them, as they bowed down to receive the Blessing before their Dismissal.

When these several Orders were sent away, then followed the Prayers for the Faithful, for the Peace of the World, and the whole State of Christ's Church; and after them the People were exhorted to pray for Peace and Prosperity the Day ensuing, and all their Lives, in this manner:

Let us beg of God his Mercies and Compassions, that this Morning, and this Day, and all the Time of our Pilgrimage may be pass'd by us in Peace, and without Sin. Let us beg of God that he would send us the Angel of Peace, and give us a Christian End, and be gracious and merciful unto us. Let us commend our selves and one another to the living God by his only-begotten Son.

Immediately after this common Prayer of the Deacon and People together (the Deacon having bid the People commend themselves to God) the Bishop makes this commendatory Prayer, which is there called *ευχαριστία ὁρθεῖν*, or Morning-Thanksgiving: O God, the God of Spirits and of all Flesh, with whom no one can compare, whom no one can approach, that givest the Son to govern the Day, and the Moon and the Stars to govern the Night; look down now upon us with the Eyes of thy Favour, and receive our Morning Thanksgivings, and have Mercy on us. For we have not spread forth our Hands to any strange God; for there is not any new God among us. But thou, our eternal and immortal God, who hast given us our Being thro Christ, and our Well-being thro him also, vouchsafe by him to bring us to everlasting Life, with whom, unto thee be Glory, Honour and Adoration in the Holy Ghost, World without end. *Amen.*

After this the Deacon bids them bow their Heads, and receive the *χειροθεσία ὁρθεῖν*, or Bishop's Benediction, or Imposition of Hands, in these

these Words: ' O God faithful and true, that Chap. 10.  
' shewest Mercy to thousands, and ten thousands  
' of them that love thee, who art the Friend of  
' the Humble, and Defender of the Poor, whose  
' Aid all things stand in need of, because all things  
' serve thee; look down upon this thy People,  
' who bow their Heads unto thee, and bless them  
' with thy spiritual Benediction, keep them as  
' the Apple of the Eye, preserve them in Pie-  
' ty and Righteousness, and vouchsafe to bring  
' them to eternal Life, in Christ Jesus thy belo-  
' ved Son, with whom unto thee be Glory, Ho-  
' nour, and Adoration in the Holy Ghost, now  
' and for ever, World without end, Amen.' This  
said, the Deacon dismisses the Congregation with  
the usual Form, *προελαθες εν ειρήνῃ*, Depart in  
Peace.

This was the Order of Morning Service laid  
down by the Author of the *Constitutions*, besides Lib. 7. c. 47.  
which there is in another Place a Hymn appoint-  
ed for the Morning, call'd *προσευχὴ ἑωθινή*, or  
Morning-Prayer; but whether it was for pub-  
lick or private Use is not said. The Form of it  
runs in these Words: ' Glory be to God on high,  
' on Earth Peace, Good-Will towards Men. We  
' praise thee, we laud thee, we bless thee, we  
' glorify thee, we worship thee by the great  
' High Priest, thee the true God, the Only-unbe-  
' gotten, whom no one can approach, for thy  
' great Glory, O Lord, heavenly King, God the  
' Father Almighty: Lord God, the Father of  
' Christ, the immaculate Lamb, who taketh a-  
' way the Sin of the World, receive our Prayer,  
' thou that sittest upon the Cherubims; for thou  
' only art Holy, thou only Lord Jesus, the Christ  
' of God, the God of every created Being, and  
' our King; by whom unto thee be Glory, Ho-  
' nour and Adoration.'

It is not to be doubted but that Lessons and  
other Psalms were read at the Daily Morning Ser-  
vice, tho' this Author has taken no notice of  
them; a farther Account whereof by way of

Book XIII. Illustration of this Part of the Christian Worship, may be had probably from the *Nocturnal* and *Antelucan* Meetings for Divine Service; which, as being the same originally with our Morning Assemblies, it may not be amiss to enquire into. Now these are known to have had their Rise from the Severity of the Heathen Persecutions, when the Christians, being afraid to meet publicly on the Lord's Day for divine Worship, were forced to hold their Assemblies in the Night, meeting early in the Morning before Day, to avoid the Observation of their Enemies: whence they were called *latebrosa* and *lucifugax Natio*, a skulking Generation that fled from the Light. But tho it was Necessity which first gave rise to these Assemblies, yet the Church in After-Ages thought fit to continue them (transferring them from the Lord's Day to all other Days) partly to keep up the Spirit of Devotion in the *Asceticks*, who had betaken themselves to a stricter Life, partly to give leisure and opportunity to Men of a secular Life to observe a seasonable time of Devotion, which they might do early in the Morning without any Distraction; and partly to guard her Children against the Temptations and Seduction of the *Arian* Sect, who with great Zeal endeavoured to promote their Heresy by their Psalmody in such Meetings.

Ep. 63. ad Neocæs. tom. 3.

Psalm. 51.

These Exercises began soon after Midnight, and continued to the Morning Light. St. Basil gives this account of them: The People rising early whilst it is Night come to the House of Prayer, and there with much Labour, and Affliction, and Contrition, and Tears, make confession of their Sins to God. When this is done, they rise from Prayers, and dispose themselves to Psalmody, either by singing alternately, or by a single Voice, intermingling Prayers with them, till the Day begins to break forth; when they all in common, as with one Mouth and one Heart, offer up to God the Psalm of Confession, every one making the Words thereof to be the Expression of his own Repentance.

In

In the *Agyptian* Churches *Cassian* informs us they fixed upon the certain number of twelve Psalms (tho other Regions had different Appointments) both for their Evening and Morning Service, interposing a Prayer between each Psalm, and adding two Lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New.

Chap. 10.

Intit. l. 2. c. 5, 6.

Tho this Service was very early in the Morning, yet it was not frequented by Clergy and Monks only, but by the People also. For *Cassian* remarks that this Part of the Church's Devotions was with great Exactness observed by many Secular Men, who rising early before Day, would not engage themselves in any of their most necessary and ordinary worldly Business, before they had consecrated the First-fruits of all their Actions and Labours to God, by going to Church, and presenting themselves in the divine Presence. A worthy Example, and fit to be recorded in Letters of Gold, to excite the Emulation of the present Age, wherein the daily Worship of God at religious Assemblies is so little frequented, and by many so much despised; tho the same Service with that of the Antients, for Substance, is still retain'd with some Improvements, and none of the Corruptions which the Superstition of darker Ages brought into the Devotions of Church.

Collat. 21. c. 26.







## C H A P. XI.

*The Order of their Daily Evening Service.*

**T**HE Evening Service, called *Hora Lucernaris*, because it began at the time of lighting Candles, towards the Close of the Day, was in most Parts the same with that of the Morning, only with such Variation of Psalms, and Hymns, and Prayers, as were proper to the Occasion.

The first thing wherein they differ'd was the *Initial Psalm*, which was the 140th, or, as we reckon, the 141st Psalm. This is what the Author of the *Constitutions* calls emphatically τὸν ἐκλυχριν ψαλμὸν, the Evening Psalm, and to which St. Chrysostom bids us hearken diligently, for that our Fathers with good reason appointed the Use of it every Evening, not barely for the sake of that single Expression, *Let the lifting up of my Hands be an Evening Sacrifice*, but as a sort of salutary Medicine to cleanse us from Sin, that whatever Defilement we may have contracted throughout the whole Day, either abroad, in the Market, or at home, or at whatsoever Place, when the Evening comes we might put it all off by this spiritual Charm or Song, which is a Medicine to purge away all such Corruption.

After this Psalm was ended, there followed the same Prayers for the *Catechumens*, *Energumens*, *Penitents*, and Common Prayers for the World and the Church that were used in the Morning Service; but after them the Deacon bespake them with his προσφωνησις ἐκλυχρινος, or Evening Bidding-Prayer, in these Words: ' Let us pray to the Lord for his Mercies and Compassions; and entreat him to send us the Angel of Peace, and all

Lib. 8. c. 35.

Hom. in Psal.

140. l. 3. P. 544.

all good things convenient for us, and that he would grant us to make a Christian End. Let us pray that this Evening and Night may pass in peace, and without Sin, and all the time of our Life unblameable and without Rebuke. Let us commend ourselves and one another to the living God, thro his Christ.

This said, the Bishop, if present, made the *ἑὸν Χριστὸν ἐν χάριτι*, in the following Words: 'O God who art without Beginning, and without End, the Maker and Governour of all things thro Christ; the God and Father of him before all things, the Lord of the Spirit, and King of all things, both intellectual and sensible; that hast made the Day for Works of Light, and the Night to give Rest to our Weakness: (For the Day is thine, and the Night is thine, thou hast prepared the Light and the Sun) Do thou now, O most kind and gracious Lord, receive this our Evening Thanksgiving. Thou that hast led us through the Length of this Day, and brought us to the beginning of the Night, keep and preserve us by thy Christ. Grant that we may pass this Evening in Peace, and this Night without Sin, and vouchsafe to bring us to eternal Life thro thy Christ: By whom be Glory, Honour, and Adoration, unto thee in the Holy Spirit, World without end, Amen.'

After this the Deacon bids the People, *κλίνετε τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ*, bow down to receive the Benediction with Imposition of Hands, which the Bishop pronounces in the following Prayer: 'O God of our Fathers, and Lord of Mercy, that hast created Man by thy Wisdom a rational Being, and of all thy Creatures upon Earth dearest unto thee, that hast given him Dominion over the Earth, and hast made us by thy Pleasure to be Kings and Priests, the one to secure our Lives, and the other to preserve thy lawful Worship; be pleased now, O Lord Almighty, to bow down and shew the Light of thy Countenance upon thy People who bow the Neck of their Heart before thee; and bless them by Christ, by whom thou hast

## Book XIII.



‘enlightened us with the Light of Knowledge;  
 ‘and revealed thy self unto us : With whom is  
 ‘due unto thee, and the Holy Ghost the Com-  
 ‘forter, all worthy Adoration from every ratio-  
 ‘nal and holy Nature, World without end, *A-*  
 ‘*men.*’

Lib. 7. c. 48.

After these Prayers made by the Bishop, the Deacon dismisses the People with the usual Form as in the Morning-Service; and this concludes the Evening Service, according to the Author of the *Constitutions* in this Place : But in another Place he speaks of an *ὑμνος ἑσπερινός*, Evening Prayer of Thanksgiving, which is a sort of Doxology to God like that used before in the Morning Prayer. The Form is in these Words : ‘Praise the  
 ‘Lord, ye Servants, O praise the Name of  
 ‘the Lord. We praise thee, we laud thee, we  
 ‘bless thee for thy great Glory, O Lord and  
 ‘King, the Father of Christ, the unspotted  
 ‘Lamb that taketh away the Sin of the World.  
 ‘All Praises, and Hymns, and Glory, are justly  
 ‘render’d unto thee our God and Father, by thy  
 ‘Son, in the most Holy Spirit, for all Ages,  
 ‘World without end, *Amen.* Lord now letteth  
 ‘thou thy Servant depart in Peace, according to  
 ‘thy word; for mine Eyes have seen thy Salva-  
 ‘tion, which thou hast prepared before the Face  
 ‘of all People; to be a Light to lighten the *Gen-*  
 ‘*tiles*, and the Glory of thy People *Israel.*’

There is another antient Hymn under the Title of *ὑμνος ἑσπερινός*, the Evening Hymn, or *ὑμνος τῷ λυχνῷ*, the Hymn said at setting up Lights; which is as follows : ‘O Jesus Christ, thou joyful Light of  
 ‘the sacred Glory of the immortal, heavenly, ho-  
 ‘ly blessed Father! We now being come to the  
 ‘setting of the Sun, and seeing the Evening  
 ‘Light, do laud and praise the Father, and Son,  
 ‘and Holy Spirit of God, (or the Father, Son,  
 ‘and Holy Ghost, that is God.) Thou art worthy  
 ‘to have Hymns at all times sung unto thee with  
 ‘holy Voices, O Son of God, that givest Life.  
 ‘Therefore the World glorifies thee.’

But  
 Lib.

But whether either of these Hymns were a Form for publick or private use, is not certain; they may be supposed to be intended only for private Devotion, to be used at home by all Christians as a pious Ejaculation or Hymn to Christ, the true Light that enlightens every Man that comes into the World, because we do not find them inserted into the publick Offices by any Writer.

As to other Psalms, Hymns, and Lessons in the Evening Service, there is no doubt to be made but they were used in many Churches; for the Customs of Churches varied in this matter: and tho the Author of the *Constitutions* mentions them not in the Rituals of the Churches he describes, yet other Accounts do. We have heard *Cassian's* Relation of the customary Service of the *Egyptian* Monasteries in the foregoing Chapter. *St. Jerom* confirms his account, adding that they had a Sermon made by the Abbot every day after Evening Prayer: At nine a-clock, saith he, they meet together, then the Psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read; and Prayers being ended, they all sit down, and one among them, whom they call their Father, begins to discourse to them, whom they hear with profound Silence and Veneration. *Epiphanius* assures us it was the Custom of the Church to have Psalms and Hymns continually both at Morning and Evening Prayer. And to name no more Authorities, tho many more might easily be produced, the Council of *Agde* informs us, that the *Gallican* Churches had besides their Collects and Prayers, both Hymns and Antiphona's, or Chapters as they called them, collected out of the Psalms to be said by way of Responses; and all this to make up the daily Course of Evening as well as Morning Service in the Churches.

To all which we may add the Observation of the Lord's Prayer being used in some Churches, as the Conclusion of the daily Morning and Evening Service. The Council of *Girone* made a general Decree for the *Spanish* Churches, that the Lord's

Prayer

Hier. Ep. 22. ad  
Eust. c. 15.

Expos. Fid. n. 23.

Conc. Agathen.  
Can. 30.

Conc. Gerund.  
Can. 10.



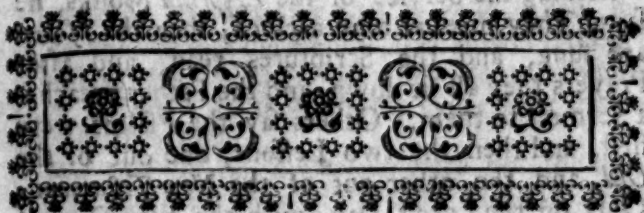
## Book XIII.

Can. 28.

Prayer should be constantly used by every Priest at the close of the Mattins and Vespers in the daily Service. And the same Practice was observed in the *French Churches*. For by a Canon of the third Council of *Orleans* the People are obliged to stay at Divine Service till the Lord's Prayer was said, and if the Bishop was present, to wait for him to pronounce the Benediction; which shews that it was the Conclusion of the Prayers, since nothing came after but the Benediction.

This is the Substance of the several Parts and Order of the Daily Morning and Evening Service in the Writings of the Fathers, and the Canons of the Councils, which are at present the chief Rituals of the ancient Church.





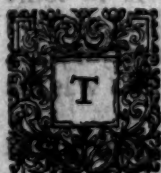
## BOOK XIV.

*Of that Part of the Divine Service which the Antients comprized under the general Name of Missa Catechumenorum, The Service of the Catechumens, or Anté-Communion Service.*



### CHAP. I.

*Of the Psalmody of the Antient Church.*



THE *Missa Catechumenorum*, or the Service of the Catechumens, was that Part of Divine Worship at which the Catechumens, and all others who were not perfect Communicants, or Believers, were not allowed to be present; and it consisted of Psalmody, Reading the Scriptures, Preaching, and Prayers for such particular Orders of Men as were not admitted to participate of the Holy Mysteries.

This

## Book XIV.

Ep. 22. ad Eunt.

Cass. Instit. l. 2.  
c. 6.

L. 2. c. 57.

Ep. 63. ad Neoc.

Can. 17.

Serm. 10. de Ver.  
Apos.

De Vir. Pat. c. 8.

This Service, as appears from St. *Jerom*, usually began with reading or singing of Psalms: For, describing the Service of the *Egyptian Monks*, he says, They meet at nine a-clock, then the *Psalms* are sung, and the Scriptures read, and after Prayers they all sit down, and the Father preaches a Sermon to them. Others say the Psalms were first, and then the two Lessons, one out of the *Old*, and the other out of the *New Testament*: Only on the Lord's Day, with the fifty Days of *Pentecost*, and the *Sabbath*, or Saturday, they read one Lesson out of the *Acts of the Apostles*, or the *Epistles*, and the other out of the *Gospels*. But different Churches might probably have different Methods; and that may reconcile the different Opinions of the Learned about the Order of their Service. In the *Constitutions*, the reading of the *Old Testament* is prescribed first; then the *Psalms*, then the *Acts of the Apostles* and *Epistles*, and last of all the *Gospels*. St. *Basil* speaks of a Confession upon their Knees, and the *Psalms* after that; but that was in their Vigils, and most probably only a private Confession every Man made by himself, before they began the publick Service: Otherwise it will argue that the *Eastern Churches* began their *Antelucan Service* with a Prayer of Confession, and so went on to their Psalmody, which was the Exercise of their Nocturnal Vigils.

As to their Psalmody, tho it was the first Part of the Service, yet it was not all performed at once, but with some Respite, and a Mixture of other Parts of divine Service; at least in some Churches: For the Council of *Laodicea* decreed that a Lesson should come between every Psalm. And St. *Austin* plainly intimates that this was the Practice of his own Church.

These Psalms were stiled *Responsoria*, and *Psalmi Responsorii*, the Responsories; which Name was not affixed to any particular Psalms, but given to all such as happen'd to fall in here in the common course of reading. *Gregory Turonensis* often mentions them under this Name, making it a Part of the

the Deacon's Office to repeat them. Why they were called *Responsoria*, is not agreed among the Ritualists: But some say they were so called, because one singing, the whole Quire answer'd them; whilst others say, they had their Name, because they answer'd to the Lessons, being sung immediately after them.

Chap. I.

Ibid. de Offic. l.

1. c. 8.

Rup. de Offic. l.

1. c. 15.

But these *Psalmi Responsorii* were not the only Psalms the Antients used in their Psalmody. We have observed before, that the 63d Psalm was in constant use in the Morning, as the 141st was in their Evening-Service. And beside these, they had also some proper Psalms adapted to their Communion and Funeral Offices, as we shall see hereafter. And in the *French Church*, as *Gennadius* informs us, they had their *Lectionarioium*, or Order of reading the Psalms and Lessons, by which the Responsory Psalms were all adapted to their proper Times and Lessons. This appropriating the several Psalms to their Lessons in the general Course of the Year, might be peculiar to the *Gallican Office*, as some think; but yet the Church had not only proper Lessons, but proper Psalms read upon greater Festivals, long before that *Kalendar* was composed by *Museus* for the *Gallican Church*. For *St. Austin* tells us, that the 22d Psalm was always used on the Day of our Saviour's Passion, in the *African Church*: and it is not to be questioned but that they had their proper Psalms upon all the other Festivals.

De Scrip. c. 79.

In Psal. 21. in

Præf. Serm. 1.

The other Psalms were sung in their ordinary Course, as they lay in the Book; except those particular Psalms which were appointed for each canonical Hour. In *Egypt*, at the Beginning of the Monastick Life, it was usual for them to sing eighteen, or twenty, and sometimes more Psalms together; but at last by common consent they reduced them to twelve, for Morning and Evening Service, which they read without any interposition of Lessons, of which they used only two, one out of the *Old Testament*, and the other out of the *New*; and they read those not till the Psalms were done. But at that time there were almost

Cass. Instit. l. 2.

c. 2.

Id. Ibid. c. 4.



Book XIV. almost as many Rules about this Matter as there were Monasteries; and in some Places they sung six *Psalms* every canonical Hour, and some proportioned their *Psalms* to the Number of the Hour at which they met for their Devotions: so that sometimes they had three, sometimes six, at others nine, till at last they resolved on three at every diurnal Hour of Prayer; and reserved the twelve only for the more solemn Aemblies at Morning and Evening Prayer. Tho the Custom of conforming the number of *Psalms* to the Hours, was continued in some Parts of *France*, or else was taken up in the time of the second Council of *Tours*, *An.* 567. according to a forementioned Canon of that Council.

Can. 19.

Arhan. Apol. 2.  
Aug. in *Psal.* 138.

Besides these, the Bishop or Precentor had the Power to appoint any *Psalms* to be sung in any part of the Service, at discretion: And this appears from the Practice of *Arhanasius* and *St. Austin*, who sometimes did it. And sometimes the Reader himself pitched upon a *Psalms*, as the Necessity of Affairs, or his own Discretion, directed him.

Instit. 1. 2. 4. 5.

In some Places they allowed a short Space for private Prayer between every *Psalms*, instead of Lessons, and a short Collect by the Minister; which *Cassian* says was the Custom of the *Egyptian* Fathers, because they reckoned frequent short Prayers more useful than long continued ones, to sollicite God more earnestly by frequent Addresses, and to prevent Weariness: And therefore they divided the longer *Psalms* into two or three Parts, interposing Prayers between every Distinction.

Book 13. c. 10.

In all the *Western* Churches, except the *Roman*, it was customary at the end of every *Psalms* to stand and say, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*: But in the *Eastern* it was otherwise, as has been noted. They never used this Glorification but at the end of the last *Psalms*, which they called their *Antiphona* or *Hallelujah*; which was one of those *Psalms* which had *Hallelujah* prefixed to it, which they repeated, and then added the Doxology. This the

## Of the Psalmody of the antient Church.

III

the Western Churches did at the end of every Psalm.

Chap. I.



As to the antient Manner of singing Psalms in the Church, it was performed several ways.

1. Sometimes by one Person alone. 2. Sometimes by the whole Assembly in Concert. 3. Sometimes alternately, by the Congregation divided into Quires, one part repeating one Verse, and the other another. 4. Sometimes one Person repeated the first part of the Verse, and all the rest joined in the close of it.

1. The first of these was the common Custom of the *Egyptian* Monasteries: in which the sometimes four sang the twelve Psalms, yet they did it in course, each singing three, till the last Psalm, when they all joined and sang together, by way of *Antiphona* or alternate Song, adding the *Gloria Patri* at the end.

Cass. Inst. l. 2.  
c. 12.

2. Till alternate Psalmody was brought into the Church, the Custom of singing all together was the most general, and derives its Original from the Foundation of the Church. Thus St. *Hilary* takes notice that the People all prayed and sang Hymns together. And St. *Corysostom* comparing the Apostolical Times with his own, says, Antiently they all met together, and all sang in common; and so do we at this day. St. *Austin* also speaks of singing the Psalms between the Lessons with united Voices, tho before his time the way of alternate Psalmody was common in all Churches.

In Psal. 65.

Hom. 36. in  
1 Cor.

De Ver. Apof.  
Ser. 10.

3. As the Method of singing all together, for its common Conjunction of Voices, was properly called *Symphony*; so the alternate Psalmody, for its Division into two Parts, was commonly called *Antiphony*, and sometimes *Responsorio*, the singing by Responsals. This way of singing is frequently mention'd by St. *Austin*, who carries the Original of it in the Western Churches no higher than St. *Ambrose*, when the way of Antiphonal singing was first brought into the Church of *Milan*, in imitation of the Custom of the Eastern Churches, according to *Paulinus*. How

Confess. l. 9. c. 7.

Vit. Amb.  
it

Book XIV. it began in the *Eastern Church*, is not so certain, Some say it was brought into the Church of *Antioch* first, by *Flavian* and *Diodorus*, in the Reign of *Constantius*. Others say it was begun by *Ignarius*, but destroyed by *Paulus Samosatenfis*, and revived only by *Flavian*: And *Pagi* says, *Flavian* only introduced this way of singing the Psalms in the *Greek Tongue* at *Antioch*; whereas it had been used in the *Syrian Language* long before, as he shews out of *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*. But however this be, it increased in a short time. *St. Chrysostom* encouraged it at *Constantinople*: It was the received Custom of the *East* in *St. Basil's* time; and it prevailed all over the *West* from the time of *St. Ambrose*: And the Method was so taking and delightful, that they sometimes used it when two or three were met for private Devotion; which *Socrates* observes of *Theodosius junior* the Emperor and his Sisters, who used to sing in this manner every Morning.

4. The fourth way of singing, and which was of pretty common Use in the fourth Age of the Church, was, when a single Person (whom they called *Phonascus*, *ῥητορεύς*, or *Præcentor*) began the Verse, and the People joined with him in the Close. This the *Greeks* called *ὑπὸ ἑνὸς* and *ὑπαὶ ἑνὸς*, and the *Latins* *succinere*. And it was often used for variety in the same Service with alternate Psalmody, as *St. Basil* informs us. Sometimes this way of Psalmody was called singing *Acrosticks*. For tho an *Acrostick* commonly signifies the Beginning of a Verse, yet sometimes it is taken for the End or Close of it: And thus it is by the Author of the *Constitutions*. This was otherwise called *Hypopsalma* and *Diapsalma*, and *ἀκροβιβλίον*, and *ἐφύμνιον* all Words of the same Signification. Only we must observe, that they do not always denote precisely the End of a Verse, but sometimes that which was added at the end of a Psalm, or something that was repeated frequently in the middle of it, as the Close of the several Parts of it. And in the former

mer of these Respects the *Gloria Patri* itself is called by those Names in antient Writers.

Chap. I.

Soz. l. 8. c. 8.  
& l. 5. c. 19.

From all these Accounts it is evident, that the People generally had a share in the Psalmody of the antient Church, and that it was not an Exercise confined only to canonical Singers. Nor can any thing be objected against it, but one single Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which forbids all others to sing in the Church except only the canonical Singers, who went up into the *Ambro* or Reading-Desk, and sung out of a Book. But that this was only temporary has been explain'd in another Place.

Book 3. ch. 7.

As Psalmody was always esteemed a considerable part of Devotion, it was usually, if not always, performed in a standing Posture. *Cassian* says, that in *Egypt*, tho by reason of their continual Fastings and Labour Night and Day they were unable to stand all the time, while twelve Psalms were reading, yet they that read always stood: and at the last Psalm they all stood up, and repeated it alternately, adding the *Gloria Patri* at the end. In other Places it was always the Custom to stand, as is plain not only from *Cassian's* Exception, but from the Testimony of *St. Austin*, who speaks of Psalmody as an Act of Devotion, which all the People performed in the Church.

Inst. l. 2. c. 12.

Ibid. c. 8.

Serm. 3. in Psal.

As to the Voice or Pronunciation used in singing, it was of two sorts, the plain Song, and the more artificial tuning the Voice to greater Variety of Sounds and Measures. The plain Song was only with a little gentle Inflection and Turn of the Voice with a proper Accent, much resembling the musical way of reading the Psalms now in our Cathedrals. This was the way of singing at *Alexandria*; and this *St. Austin* intimates was the common way in the *African Churches*, as most agreeable to the slow Genius of that People. And tho *St. Austin* commends this way of singing, he allows the other as very useful to raise the Affections, when performed with a clear Voice, and a convenient Sweetness of

Conf. l. 10. c. 33.  
& Ep. 119. ad  
Jan. c. 13.



Book XIV. Melody ; and he says it was that that melted him into Tears, when he first heard it in the beginning of his Conversion, in the Church of St. *Ambrose* : which plainly implies, that the artificial way of singing was used in the *Italick* Churches, as well as the plain Song.

Neither was it any Objection against the Psalmody of the Church, that she sometimes made Use of human Compositions, besides those of inspired Writers. For tho St. *Austin* reflects upon the *Donatists* upon this account, yet it was not merely because they were human, but because they preferred their own to the divine Hymns, and had an indecent way of chanting them. Besides, he himself made a Psalm in many Parts, in imitation of the 119th, for the Use of his People, to preserve them from the Errors of *Donatus*. St. *Hilary* and St. *Ambrose* made many such Hymns, the Use of which, together with the Doxology, *Glory be to the Father*, &c. and *Glory be to God on high*, were confirmed in the *Spanish* Churches by the fourth Council of *Toledo*, threatening Excommunication to any who should reject them. The only thing of weight against all this is a Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which forbids all, *ἰδιωτικὰς ψαλμοὺς*, private Psalms, and all uncanonical Books to be read in the Church. But that Canon was intended rather to exclude Apocryphal Psalms, such as went under the Name of *Solomon*, as *Balzman* and *Zonaras* understand it ; or else such as were not approved by publick Authority in the Church : For if it be extended farther, it contradicts the current Practice of the whole Church besides.

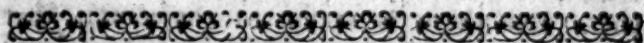
But there were some Disorders always apt to creep into this Practice ; and against these the Fathers frequently declaim : such were all Lightness, vain Curiosity, theatrical Airs, regarding the Musick of the Words more than the Sense and Meaning of them, pleasing the Ear, &c. And some are of opinion, that it was Abuses of this kind, in Excess and not Defect, that made

Can. 12.

Can. 59.

made the Council of *Laodicea* forbid all but canonical Singers to sing in the Church.

Chap. 2.



C H A P. II.

*A particular Account of some of the most noted Hymns in Use of the Service of the antient Church.*

**A**MONG the most noted Hymns used in the Church, one the most antient and common, was that which was called the *Lesser Doxology*, in this Form, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, World without end, Amen*: for those Words, *As it was in the Beginning, is now, and ever shall be*, were not originally in it; as appears from the most antient Form used both in the *Greek* and *Latin Churches*, and the reading of the fourth Council of *Toledo*; in which last the Word *Honour* is added to *Glory* by a Decree of that Council; that *Glory* and *Honour* might be given to God on Earth, as it is expressly said to be sung in Heaven. The *Mosarabick* Liturgy, which was used in *Spain* a little after, has it in the same Form: which shews the Use of it in the *Spanish Churches*. *Athanasius* repeats it in the same Form as the antient *Greek* and *Latin Churches*: And *Strabo* says the *Greeks* in general omitted that part, *As it was in the Beginning*. What time they began to be used is not easy to decide. Some say the Council of *Nice* inserted them against *Arius*: Others, that the Church admitted them in compliance with the Doctrine of that Council, to confront the *Arian* Tenet, That the Son was not in the Beginning. But if so, it is strange we should not hear of it in any *Greek* or *Latin* Writer for above two whole Centuries after.

Can. 12.

Ap. Mabill.

De Virg.

De Re Eccl. Gay.

Book XIV. The second Council of *Vaison*, Anno 529. first mentions it, and says it was then so used at *Rome*, in *Italy*, *Africk*, and all the *East*, and therefore is now so order'd to be used in the *French Churches*. But there is reason to conjecture, that the *East* is here put for the *West* by a Mistake of some Transcriber; since *Strabo* says that in his time the Custom of the *Greek Church* was still otherwise: And how long it had been the Custom of the *Western Churches* before this Council, is uncertain.

Can. 5.

802. l. 3. c. 20.

L. 3. c. 13.

De Spir. Sanct.  
c. 29.

There was another small Difference in the Use of this Hymn, which made no Dispute among Catholicks till the Rise of the *Arian* Heresy. The Catholicks themselves were used to say, some, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*; others, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost*; and others, *Glory be to the Father, in or by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost*. Now all these Ways were allowed, while no heterodox Opinions were suspected under them: But when *Arius* had broached his Heresy in the World, and his Followers would use no other Doxology but the last, to denote that the Son and Holy Ghost were inferiour to the Father in Substance, and as Creatures, of a different Nature from him; from that time it became scandalous, and brought any one under the suspicion of Heterodoxy, to use it, because the *Arians* had now made it, as it were, the *Shibboleth* of their Party. *Philostorgius* indeed says that this was the original Form; but that is abundantly confuted by St. *Basil*, from Testimonies of the greatest Authority, and the Consent and Practice of all the *Eastern* and *Western Churches*.

As to the Use of this Hymn in divine Service, we may observe that it was so general, that it was repeated in the Close of every solemn Office. The *Western Church* repeated it at the end of every Psalm; the *Eastern* at the end of the last Psalm, as we have seen before. Many of their Prayers were also concluded with it, as we shall find hereafter; particularly the solemn Thanksgiving,

giving, or Consecration-Prayer, at the Eucharist, to which some of the Antients refer, when they mention the Close of it ending in these Words, *αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, *World without end*, Amen: the whole Doxology commonly runs thus; *To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be all Glory, Worship, Thanksgiving, Honour and Adoration, now and for ever, throughout all Ages, World without end, Amen*; as it is in the *Constitutions*: or if the Prayer ended, by the *Intercession of Christ*, then it was, *To whom with Thee, or, With whom unto Thee, and the Holy Spirit, be all Honour, Glory, &c. World without end, Amen*. This was also the ordinary Conclusion of their Sermons, *That we may obtain eternal Life through Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all Glory and Power, World without end*: as may be seen in the Homilies of *Chrysostom, Austin, Leo, &c.*

Chap. 2.

Iren. l. 1. c. 1.  
Tert. de Spectac.  
c. 25.

L. 8. c. 12.  
Ibid. c. 13.

Another Hymn in the antient Church, and of great Note, was that they called the *Angelical Hymn*, or *Great Doxology*, beginning with those Words, *Glory be to God on high, &c.* This was chiefly used in the Communion Service: it was also used at Morning Prayer at Mens private Devotions; as has been shewn from *Athanasius* and the *Constitutions*. In the *Mosarabick* Liturgy it is appointed to be sung in publick before the Lessons on *Christmas-day*. *Chrysostom* often mentions it, and says it is one of the Morning Hymns constantly used by the *Asceticks*. Who made the Addition to the Angels Words is uncertain: Some suppose it to be as antient as the Beginning of the second Century, and think it to be the *πολυώνυμον ᾠδὴν*, or Hymn with many Names, mention'd by *Lucian*; but others take it for the *Gloria Patri*: which is a Dispute as difficult to be determined, as it is to find out the Author and Original of this Hymn.

Book 13. ch. 10.

Hom. 3. in Col.  
& Hom. 9.

A third Hymn of great Note in the Church was the *Cherubical Hymn*, or the *Trisagion*, as it was called, because of the thrice repeating, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts*. The original Form was in these Words, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord*

Const. l. 8. c. 1



Book XIV. *Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory, who art blessed for ever, Amen.* But afterwards the Church made an Addition, and sung it in this Form, *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have Mercy upon us.* This Form is ascribed to *Proclus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and *Theodosius Junior*, Anno 446: And in this Form the Council of *Chalcedon* used it in their Condemnation of *Dioscorus*. *Damascen* says, the Church used this to declare her Faith in the Holy Trinity, applying the Title, *Holy God to the Father, and Holy Mighty to the Son, and Holy Immortal to the Holy Ghost.* And thus this Hymn continued to be applied, till *Anastasius* the Emperor, as some, or as others say, *Petrus Gnapheus* Bishop of *Antioch*, caused the Words *ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς*, that was crucified for us, to be added to it. This was done to bring in the Heresy of the *Theopaschites*, who asserted that the Divine Nature itself suffer'd upon the Cross; and was in effect to say that the whole Trinity suffer'd, because this Hymn was commonly applied to it. Hereupon *Calandio* Bishop of *Antioch*, in the time of *Zeno* the Emperor, added the Words *Christ our King*, reading it thus, *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Christ our King, that was crucified for us, have mercy upon us.* These last Additions caused great Confusions in the Eastern Church, whilst the *Constantinopolitans* and *Western Churches* rejected them, and instead of the Words *crucified for us*, expressly said, *Holy Trinity, have mercy on us.*

As to the Use of this Hymn, it was sung chiefly in the middle of the Communion Service, as we shall find hereafter; but it was used sometimes upon other Occasions. Some *Greek* Ritualists tell us, that it was always sung before the reading of the Epistle, which was antiently a part of the Service of the *Catechumens*: But then they distinguish between the *Trisagion* and *Epinicion* or *Triumphal Hymn*, calling the simple Form, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, the Epinicion*, which was sung in the Communion Service; and

Aët. 1.  
De Ort. Fid. 1. 3.  
c. 10.

Evagr. 1. 3. c. 44.  
Damas. ibid.

Theod. Lect. 1. 2.

Eph. Syr. ap.  
Phot.

German. Theor.  
Ecccl. Bibl. Pat.

and the other the *Trisagion*, which was sung in the Service of the *Catechumens*.

Next to the *Trisagion*, antient Writers mention the singing of the *Hallelujah*; by which they sometimes mean the Repetition of this single Word, in imitation of the Heavenly Host: sometimes they mean one of those Psalms which were called *Halleluatick Psalms*, because they had the Word *Hallelujah* prefixed to them, as the 115th, &c. had to the End. But the more common Acceptation of *Hallelujah* is for singing the Word it self; it being a sort of Invitatory to praise the Lord: and being a Word well known, they always used it in the *Hebrew* Language. Antiently there was no Dispute about the Lawfulness of the Hymn it self, but there was about the Times of using it. *St. Austin* says it was never sung in some Churches but upon *Easter-Day*, and the fifty Days between that and *Pentecost*: But in other Churches it was used at other Times also. *Sozomen* assures us, it was never sung in the Church of *Rome* but on *Easter-Day*: insomuch that it was the common Form of an Oath among the *Romans*, As they hoped to live to sing *Hallelujah* on that Day. And in those Churches where it was most used, there were some Exceptions as to Time and Season. *St. Austin* says it was never used in the time of *Lent*: and the fourth Council of *Toledo* forbids the Use of it not only upon *Lent*, but upon other Days of Fasting. In the same Council it is mention'd under the Name of *Laudes*, and appointed to be sung after the reading of the Gospel; which was according to the *Mosarabick* Rite; for in other Churches it was sung between the Epistle and Gospel. It was also sung at Funerals, and in the Consecration of the Chrism to be used at Confirmation, as *St. Jerom* and *Dionysius* inform us. *St. Austin* says it was sung every Lord's Day at the Altar: And the second Council of *Tours* appointed it to be sung immediately after the Psalms, both at the sixth Hour, that is Noon-day, and the twelfth Hour, that is Evening-Prayer. *Isidore* says, it was sung every

Aug. in Psal. 105.

Aug. Ep. 178.

Ep. 119. ad Jan.

L. 7. c. 19.

In. Psal. 110.

Can. 10.

Can. 11.

Ep. 30. c. 4.

De Hier. c. 4.

Ep. 119.

Can. 29.

De Offic. l. 2.

Day c. 13.

Book XIV. Day in *Spain*, except Fast-days. St. *Jerom* says it was used in private Devotion; and that it was the Monks Signal to call them to their Ecclesiastical Assemblies. Nay *Sidonius Apollinaris* says the Seamen used it as their *Celeusma*, or Signal at their common Labour. Add to this, that in the Church *Hallelujah* was sung by all the People, as appears from several Authors, and particularly that Verse of *Paulinus*, *Halleluja novis balat Ovilchoris*; i. e. the whole Sheepfold of Christ sings *Hallelujah* in her new Choirs.

Ep. 12. ad Sever.

The Hymn called *Hofanna* was but a part of the great Doxology, and only used in the Communion Service.

That called the Evening Hymn was rather a private than a publick one. In it was contained the *Nunc dimittis*, or Song of *Simeon*; but whether any of this was used in publick, or only in their Families, at their setting up of Lights, is not easy to determine: For tho there was the *Αὐχράσια* among the *Greeks*, and the *Lucernarium* among the *Latins*, mention'd as a publick Office, for Vespers or Evening Prayer; yet it does not appear that this Hymn was a part of that Office, neither do we find it any where mention'd in the publick Offices of the Church.

De Virg.

Can. 13.

The Hymn called *Benedicite* we find was used by the Direction of *Athanasius* in private Devotions: And the fourth Council of *Toledo* says it was used in the Church all the World over, and therefore orders it to be sung in the Churches of *Spain* and *Gallicia* every Lord's Day and Festival, under pain of Excommunication. Some think this was the Original of its Use in the Church, but *Chrysostom* mentions it, with the same Character, two hundred Years before that Council. The Use of the *Magnificat* is not so antient; for that was first used in the *French* Churches at Morning Service, about the Year 506.

Tom. 4. P. 593.

Ap. Mab. de  
Curs. Gall.

As for the *Te Deum*, now in use amongst us, the Author of it is disputed. The common Opinion ascribes it to St. *Ambrose* and St. *Jerom* jointly; others to St. *Ambrose* singly. Some again

gain ascribe to St. *Abundius*; and others have found it with the Name of *Sisebutus* prefixed to it. Bishop *Usher* found it in two MSS. ascribed to *Nicettus* Bishop of *Triers*, who lived about the Year 535, and he is now generally reputed by learned Men to be the Author of it; and from thence it came to be used first in the *Gallican Church*, as we find it mentioned not long after in the *Rule of St. Benedict*, cap. 11. and the *Rule of Cæsarius Arelatensis*, cap. 21. and the *Rule of Aurelian*, where they prescribe the Use of it.

Chap. 3.  
De Symb. p. 3.



### C H A P. III.

#### *Of the Manner of Reading the Scriptures in the publick Service of the Church.*

**A**S all Persons were allowed to be present at the reading of the Scriptures, for Instruction; it is no doubt but they were read in a known Tongue. What therefore remains to be observed, relates to the Manner and Circumstances of this Service. Where first, it is proper to remark, that tho the *Psalms*, and *Lessons*, and *Hymns* were sometimes so intermixed, that it is hard to tell which came first in Order; yet in some Places it was plainly otherwise: For the *Psalms* were first sung all together, only with short Prayers between them, then the *Lessons* by themselves, in number according to the Rules of particular Churches.

As to the number of the *Lessons*, they were never fewer than two, and sometimes three or four, partly out of the *Old Testament*, and partly out of the *New*: Only the Church of *Rome* had neither *Psalms* nor *Lessons* out of the *Old Testament* read before the Sacrifice, but only the *Epistle* and *Gospel*, till the Time of Pope *Celestine*.

Strab. de Rob.  
Eccl. c. 12.

In



## Book XIV.

Inlt. l. 2. c. 6.  
L. 2. c. 57.

Apol. 2.

Ap. Mab. l. 1.  
c. 4.

Collat. ap. Ma-  
billon. p. 399.

Ap. Mab. l. 2.  
P. 138.

Can. 59, 60.

Can. 47.

Expos. in 1 John.

In *Egypt* they had two Lessons read, according to *Cassian*: And the Author of the *Constitutions* speaks of four in some other Places; and those out of the *Law*, and the *Prophets*, the *Epistles*, the *Acts* and the *Gospels*. So *Justin Martyr*, describing the Business of the Christian Assemblies on the Lord's Day, speaks of the reading of the Writings of the *Prophets* as well as the *Apostles*. *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Basil*, and *St. Austin* also plainly intimate the same Custom. In the *French Churches* there is still more Evidence of this Practice. It is plainly hinted in *Casarius Arelatensis*, that the Lessons were read as well out of the *Prophets*, as the *Epistles* and *Gospels*. In the Relation of the Conference between the *Catholicks* and *Arians* in the time of *Gundobadus King of Burgundy*, it is said, that in the Vigil held the Night before that Conference, four Lessons were read, one out of *Moses*, another out of the Prophet *Esaias*, a third out of the *Gospels*, and the last out of the *Epistles*. And in the *Lectioarium Gallicanum* there is always a Lesson out of the Old Testament before the Epistle and Gospel. And on the *Sabbatum Sanctum*, or Saturday before *Easter*, there are twelve Lessons appointed out of the *Old Testament*, beside the *Epistle* and *Gospel* which follow after. Moreover, it farther appears from the Council of *Laodicea*, and the third of *Carthage*, &c. that all the Books of the Old Testament were then read in the Church as well as the New; for they give us Catalogues of them, specifying both what might, and what might not be read in the Church.

As for the Method of reading the Scriptures in the Publick Service, that seems to be done by some Rule, tho it might vary in different Churches. *St. Austin* says, there were some Lessons appropriated to certain Times and Seasons; for *Easter*, the History of Christ's Resurrection out of the Four *Gospels* on four several Days; for *Good-Friday*, the History of his Passion out of *St. Matthew* only; for all the time between *Easter* and *Pentecost*, the *Acts of the Apostles*. *St. Chry-*

*Chrysoſtom* ſpeaks much to the ſame purpoſe ; only he adds that on every Feſtival they had Leſſons referring to that Feſtival. He alſo gives the Reaſon why the *Acts of the Apoſtles* were to be read between *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt* ; becauſe, that the Miracles of the Apoſtles contained in that Book, were the great Demonſtration of our Saviour's Reſurrection, which was read for that Reaſon to give Men the Evidences and Proofs of that Holy Myſtery which was the Completion of their Redemption. And upon this Account it became a general Rule over the whole Church to read the *Acts* at this time. *Caffian* ſays, the *Egyptians* had the ſame Order ; and it appears from the *Lectio-narium Gallicanum*, that it was ſo in the *French Churches*, except that they joined the *Apocalypſe* with the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, during that Seaſon, and appointed other particular Leſſons for the *Rogation-Days*, and ſome few others. Hence it may be concluded that the reading of the *Apocalypſe* was appropriated in a great meaſure to this Seaſon by the *Gallican Church*. That it was thus in the *Spaniſh Churches*, is evident from the Canon of the fourth Council of *Toledo*, which enjoins the reading of it, in this Interval, under pain of Excommunication. In *Lent* they uſually read the Book of *Genefis*, as is plain from *Chryſoſtom* ; the Books of *Job* and *Jonah* in the *Paſſion-Week*, as appears from *St. Ambroſe* : and *Origen* proves it to have been an antient Rule of the Church. But the *Lectio-narium Gallicanum* mentions only the Book of *Jonah* on the Saturday before *Eaſter-Day*. *St. Jerom* ſeems to ſay the Prophet *Hoſea* was alſo read on the Vigil of our Saviour's Paſſion : And *St. Chryſoſtom* in one of his Homilies directly advises his Auditors to read at home, in the Week-days, ſuch Portions of the *Gofpel* as they knew were to be read and expounded on the Lord's Day following in the Church ; which implies ſome certain Rule and Order. So that tho we have not any Kalendar of Leſſons now extant, we are ſure there was ſuch a Rule, eſpecially for the greater Solemnities and Feſtivals of the Church :

Book XIV. Church : and for the rest of the Scriptures, they were read either in Order as they lie in the Bible, as *Mabillon* shews from the Rules of *Casarius* and *Aurelian* ; or else were appointed by Bishops at discretion ; of which there are several Instances in *St. Austin*.

Who the Persons were that read the Scriptures in the Church, has been already answer'd in some measure, in speaking of the Order of Readers ; where it has been shewed, that the Deacon did it before the Order of Readers was instituted, or else such as the Bishop or President for that time appointed. But in the time of *Cyprian* the Readers did it all together : and here it must be added that in after Ages the Reading of the Gospel was in some Churches confined to the Office of Deacons and Presbyters ; for so the Author of the *Constitutions* words it, After the other Lessons are read by the Readers, let a Deacon or a Presbyter read the Gospels. At *Alexandria* the Gospel was read only by the Archdeacon ; in other Places by the Deacons ; in others only by the Presbyters, as *Sozomen* says ; and on the greater Festivals by the Bishop, as at *Constantinople*, on *Easter-Day*. In the *French Churches* it was the ordinary Office of Deacons, as appears from a Canon of the second Council of *Vaison* ; yet in the *Spanish Churches* the Readers read the Gospels as well as other Lessons, as may be collected from the first Council of *Toledo*, in which there is a Canon to restrain Readers who have ever done publick Penance from reading the *Epistle* and *Gospel* in the Church.

But here it may be observed, that whereas some suppose that Reading of the Gospel to have been in the Communion Service ; antiently the Scriptures, and even the Gospel it self, were only read in the Service of the Catechumens, being designed chiefly for their Instruction, and always before the Sermon, which was ever before the Communion-Service, as we may find in many Places both of *St. Austin* and *St. Chrysostom*.

Ep. 34.

L. 2. c. 57.

L. 7. c. 19.

Can. 2.

Can. 2.



The next thing observable is the Ceremony with which the Antients appointed the Scriptures to be read. The Reader, before he began to read, was commonly used to say, *Pax vobiscum*, Peace be with you; and this is plainly hinted at by *Cyprian*, where he says, *Auspiciatus est Pacem dum dedicat Lectionem*, i. e. He began to use the Salutation, *Peace be with you*, when he first began to read. This Form of *Salutation*, to which the People usually answer'd, *And with thy Spirit*, was commonly the Office of a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, in the Performance of their several Functions in the Church, as is noted by *Chrysostom* more than once; and therefore the third Council of *Carthage* divested the Readers of that Power, and put it in the Hands of the Deacons, or the other superior Ministers of the Church.

Ep. 33. ad Cler. Carth.

Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. Hom. 3. in Colof. Can. 4.

This Form of Salutation, *St. Austin* says, the Bishop used at his Entrance into the Church, before the Reader began the Lessons, which in *Africk*, in those Days, was the first Part of the Service, with a *Responsory Psalm* between every Lesson. This Custom of saluting the People in this Form is also mentioned by *Chrysostom* in several Places.

Ep. 165.

Hom. 35. in Mat. Hom. 36. in 1 Cor.

*St. Chrysostom* also takes notice of two other Customs relating to this Matter; that is, the Deacons enjoining Silence, and requiring Attention, and the Reader himself after naming any Lesson, saying, *Thus saith the Lord*. The Deacon's Word was *παρακαλεω*, *Let us give Attention*; this he repeated several times, and then the Reader cried aloud, *ὁ κύριος λέγει καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν ἡσυχία*, *Thus saith the Lord*. This Form is also noted by *St. Ambrose* and others. But then this enjoining of Silence differ'd from another Act of the Deacons under the same Name, *Silentium indicere*, which was calling to the People to fall to their private Prayers, of which we shall say more in the next Book.

Hom. 19. in Act.

Some observe that at naming the Lessons out of the *Propets* or *Epistles*, the People sometimes said, *Deo Gralias*, Thanks be to God, as it is in the *Mosarabick* Liturgy. But we have little notice of this

Mab. l. 1. c. 2.



Book XIV. this elsewhere : Only St. *Austin* says the Monks used it when they met a Brother Christian, for which the *Circumcellions*, or *Agonistici*, used to insult them. It was also an usual Acclamation upon other Occasions, when a Bishop was nominated, as appears from the Acts of *Eradius* his Election to be St. *Austin*'s Successor, &c.

In Psal. 132.

Aug. Ep. 110.

It was a general Custom at reading of the Gospel, for all the People to stand up : And some of the Middle-Age *Ritualists* take notice of their saying, *Glory be to thee, O Lord*, at the naming of it. But this Custom of rising up is certainly as old as *Chrysostom*, who mentions it in one of his Homilies on St. *Matthew*. The Author of the *Constitutions* mentions the same : And this was observed every where, except at *Alexandria*, where *Sozomen* notes it as a singular thing, that the Bishop did not use to rise up when the Gospel was read. The Monks of *Egypt* indeed were indulged this Liberty because of their excessive Watchings, and Fastings, and Labours. But in other Places sitting at the Gospel was reckoned a Corruption and Abuse ; and hence *Anastasius* made a Decree against it, in the Roman Church. In *Africk* the Custom was to stand at all the Lessons ; and in *Cyprian*'s time they did the same ; as also in St. *Austin*'s, except in Case of Infirmary. When the Gospel was ended, in some Places they said only *Amen*, in others, *Deo Gracias*, Thanks be to God ; and some said, *Laus tibi Christe*, Praise be to thee, O Christ : But these are mentioned only by the later Writers of the Church.

Hom. 1. in Mar.

L. 2. c. 57.

Cass. Inst. l. 2.  
c. 12.

Pontific. Vir.  
Anastas.

Con. Vigil. c. 3.

In the Eastern Churches, as St. *Jerom* says, it was the Custom to light Candles at the reading of the Gospel ; but no other Author mentioning it, as far as his Authority will prevail, it may be credited, but no farther.

It is also observable, that in some Churches they had three or four Lessons out of the Gospels on the same day. That this Custom prevail'd in the French Churches is plain from the *Lectiionarium Gallicanum*, where the Lessons of several Festivals are thus appointed : On the Feast of *Epiphany* there is one Lesson

son out of *Mat.* 2. for the Morning-Service; and three more out of *Matthew*, *Luke*, and *John*, for the Communion-Service. So on the *Parasceue*, or Day of our Saviour's Passion, there is one Lesson of the *Gospel* for Morning Service, another for the second, another for the third, and others for the sixth and ninth Hours of Prayer, collected out of the four Gospels by way of Harmony or *Catena*. Whence we may observe, That the old *Gallican Liturgy* (from whence our *English Service* is thought chiefly to be derived, and not from the *Roman*) had distinct Offices for Morning and Communion Service, and distinct *Gospels* for each Service on solemn Days, as ours now has; which probably were designed at first for distinct Offices, tho they are now commonly read together in the greatest Part of our Churches.

*Durantus* says there was another Distinction De Rit. l. 3. of Lessons, into the Longer and the Shorter; c. 18. that the Longer were used at the long Nocturnal or *Antelucan Service*, and the Shorter at other Canonical Hours of Prayer. So that this Distinction could not be till the fourth or fifth Century, because those Hours were not settled till then. The shorter Lessons are by some called *Capitula*, and were probably no other than the *Psalms*, or Antiphonal Hymns collected out of the *Psalms* for the Service of the several Hours of Devotion; which are expressly called *Capitella de Psalmis*, Chapters out of the *Psalms*, by the Council of *Agde*; and were the same as Antiphonal Hymns out of the *Psalms*, and to be said alternately by way of Responses. Can. 30.

Besides these longer and shorter Lessons out of the Scripture, the same Distinction is made by *St. Austin* with respect to certain Lessons which Hom. 16. they read sometimes out of the *Homilies* of the Fathers, or the *Acts of the Martyrs*, which they used to read on their proper Festivals, as also the *Epistles* and *Tracts* of pious Men, and the *Letters Communicatory* of one Church to another, with other things of the like nature. The reading of the

## Book XIV.

Can. 47.

De Civ. Dei, l.  
22. c. 8.

Hom. 3. in Thef.

Cat. 4. n. 22.  
Can. 59.

the Passions of the *Martyrs* was order'd by a Rule in the third Council of *Carthage*, which forbids all other Books to be read in the Church, except those upon their *Anniversary* Commemoration, of which Practice there are many Instances. Hence the *Histories* and *Passions* of the *Martyrs* had particularly the Name of *Legenda*, *Legends*, which was of a good Signification in the original Use, tho now it be commonly taken in a worse Sense, for the fabulous and romantic Stories of the Monks. But besides these, many other pious Books were read in some Churches; such as *Hermes Pastor*, *Clemens Romanus's* first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and another of *Soter* Bishop of *Rome*, the Books called the *Revelations* of *Peter*, and the *Διδάχνη Ἀποστόλων*, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Homilies of *Ephraim Syrus*, the Acts of the Collation of *Carthage*, and some others of the like nature. And to these *St. Austin* adds, that when any one received a signal Mercy from God, the Relation of it was many times read publickly in the Church. And *St. Chrysostom* says the Emperor's, and all *Heortastical* or *Festival Epistles*, were generally published in their Churches.

As to those Books now called *Apocryphal*, they were read in some Churches, but not in all. At *Jerusalem* they were utterly forbidden, as appears from *Cyril*; and also by the Council of *Laodicea*, where the Canon of Scripture was fixed so as to prohibit all Books to be read in the Church, but those therein specified, viz. *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Ester*, four Books of *Kings*, two of *Paralipomena* or *Chronicles*, two of *Esdras*, the Book of a hundred and fifty *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, *Job*, twelve Prophets, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Lamentations*, and Epistles of *Baruch*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholick Epistles, fourteen Epistles of *St. Paul*. Where none of the *Apocryphal* Books, nor the *Revelations* are mentioned; which is a plain Evidence that

none of them were read in the Churches of that District. The *Apocryphal* Books are also left out of the Canon of the *Old Testament* by the Author of the *Constitutions*; which argues that he did not find them in the Rituals of those Churches whence he made his Collections. However, that they were allowed in other Churches, as Books of Piety and Moral Instruction, is expressly said by St. *Jerom.* And *Ruffin* acknowledges that they were read as such in the Church of *Aquileia*, to which he belonged. Yet

Chap. 3.

L. 2. c. 57.

Præf. in Lib.  
Salom.  
In Symb.

In some Churches the *Apocryphal* Books were read under the general Name of Canonical Scripture, taking that Word in a large Sense for such Books as were authorized to be read in the Church. And in this Sense the Canon of the third Council of *Carthage* is to be understood, which order'd that nothing but the Canonical Writings should be read in the Church under the Name of the Divine Scriptures; among which are reckon'd *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, under the Name of *Solomon*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Hester*, and the *Maccabees*. And St. *Austin* seems to have followed this Canon, making all these Books Canonical, but not allowing them so great Authority as the rest, because they were not so generally received. For in the *Eastern* Church their Authority was always rejected: And in many of the *Western* Churches; for neither *Ruffin* at *Aquileia*, nor *Philastrius* at *Brixia* in *Italy*, nor *Hilary* at *Poictiers* in *France*, grant them any Authority in the Canon of Scripture. Nay *Hilary* of *Arles* told St. *Austin*, That the Churches of *France* were offended at him, because he had used a Proof out of the Book of *Wisdom*, which was not canonical. And it is remarkable, that at *Rome* itself *Gregory* the Great having occasion to quote a Text out of the *Maccabees*, makes a prefatory Excuse for alledging a Text out of a Book which was not canonical, but only published for the Edification of the Church. And St. *Austin* himself pleads no farther for the Authority of the Book of *Wisdom*, which he had cited as canonical, but that it had been so received

Can. 47.

De Do&. Chris.  
l. 2. c. 8.

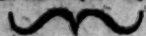
Ep. ad Aug.

In Job. l. 19. c. 13.

De Præd. l. 1.  
c. 14.



## Book XIV.



In fine Comm. in  
Hist. Ver. Test.

received by the Christians of *Africk* before him. Which by his own Rule, in his Book of *Christian Doctrine*, did not make it in the highest Sense canonical, because it was rejected by all the *Eastern*, and many of the *Western* Churches. So that tho the *African* Church read these Books under the Name of canonical Scripture, yet they were not esteemed of equal Authority with the rest, being thought at most but *Ecclesiastical* only, and to be read for Instruction, but not used to confirm Articles of Faith. And this is the Account which *Cajetan* himself gave of the Practice of the Church, before the Council of *Trent* defined a new Canon of Scripture. He says, They are not canonical, that is, regular, to confirm Articles of Faith: yet they may be called canonical, that is, regular, for the Edification of the People, as being received and authorized in the Canon of the Bible only for that end. And with this Distinction he thinks we are to understand both St. *Austin* and the Council of *Carthage*, all whose Sayings are to be reduced to the Rule of St. *Jerom*. But if any think that St. *Austin* or the *African* Church meant more, it may be said, their Authority is of no weight against the general Consent of the whole Church, in all Ages besides, from the first settling of the Canon down to the Council of *Trent*; the Proof of which Consent is fully made out by Bishop *Cosins*, in his Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture.

As for the Translations of Scripture which were commonly used in the antient Church; where the *Greek* was the vulgar Language, they used the *Septuagint*, or else such Translations into other Languages as were derived from it. For they had no Translation of the Bible from the *Hebrew* till the time of St. *Jerom* in the *Latin* Church. The *Septuagint* was used all over the *Greek* Church, except perhaps that Part of *Syria* where *Syriack* was the most vulgar Language, about *Osaroe*ne and *Mesopotamia*, where they had a *Syriack* Translation from the *Hebrew*, made not long after the Apostles Time: And this was called the old Translation,

## The Manner of reading the Scriptures.

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Chap. 3.

Translation, in opposition to another from the *Septuagint* in after-Ages.

In time the *Septuagint* began to be corrupted by Variety of Copies, upon which account *Origen* and *Hesychius* the *Egyptian*, and *Lucian* of *Antioch*, separately revised and corrected it. And hence came three famous Exemplars in the *Eastern Churches*: for *Alexandria* and *Egypt* followed the Copy of *Hesychius*; *Constantinople* and all the *Asiatick Churches* as far as *Antioch* used *Lucian's*; and the Churches of *Palastine* and *Arabia* read the Copy corrected by *Origen*, and published by *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus*. And so between these three Editions the World was divided. But *Origen* went farther yet: He published his *Hexapla*, in six Columns: 1. The *Hebrew* in *Hebrew Characters*. 2. The *Hebrew* in *Greek Characters*. 3. The Translation of *Aquila* the Jew. 4. The Translation of *Symmachus*. 5. The Translation of the *Septuagint*. 6. The Translation of *Theodotion* the *Ebionite*. To these he added afterwards two other Translations found at *Nicopolis* and *Jericho*; and these made up his *Octapla*. Some time after he published another lesser Edition, containing only the four Translations of the *Septuagint*, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, which he called his *Tetrapla*. Then again, he published the *Septuagint*, with the Additions of *Theodotion* mixed with it, to supply Defects. These Additions he marked with an *Asterisk* to distinguish them; and such Places as were redundant in the *Septuagint*, and not in the *Hebrew* nor *Theodotion*, he marked with an *Obelisk* or strait Line, for distinction also. But this at last causing some Confusion, *St. Jerom* set about a new Edition and Translation of the *Septuagint*, for the Use of the *Latin Church*. Hitherto the Translation of the *Septuagint* was universally used, except in the *Syrian Churches*, and except on the Book of *Daniel*, which was read in all Churches after *Theodotion's* Translation, as *St. Jerom* informs us; because the *Septuagint* Translation of that Book, by some means or other, was more corrupt

Euseb. l. 6. c. 16.

Præf. in Josue,

## Book XIV.



Ep. ad Hieron.

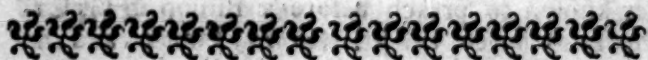
Ep. ad Leand.

De Curf. Gall.

rupt than other Parts of Scripture. But there were abundance of Faults in that Translation in other Places, partly by the Design of Interpreters (as St. *Jerom* shews) and partly from the great Variety of Copies, and the Corruptions of them by the Ignorance or Negligence of Transcribers: And this both in the *Septuagint* Copies themselves, and the *Latin* Translations that were made from them. Upon this account St. *Jerom* set about a Translation of the Psalms and Old Testament from the original *Hebrew*: but this met with great Opposition from *Ruffin* and others; nay St. *Austin* himself would not suffer it to be read in his Diocese for fear of giving scandal to the People. However, by degrees it was used by learned Men in their Expositions. *Gregory the Great* made use of it with the old Translation, commonly called the *Itala*, and *Vulgata*, and *Communis*, because it was the most common and vulgar Translation used in all the *Latin* and *Italick* Churches: The present Vulgar *Latin* Translation is supposed to be a Mixture of both together: the Psalms are of St. *Jerom*'s Translation; the other Books come nearer the *Hebrew* than they do the *Septuagint*, which shews they have something of St. *Jerom*'s Translation. *Pius V.* order'd St. *Jerom*'s Version of the Psalms, with Emendations from the *Septuagint*, to be read at *Rome*: the *Gallican* Church immediately received it, and the *Germans* also, as is noted by *Mailillon* and others.

Several other things relating to the Division of the Scriptures into Chapters, Verses, Canons, Sections and Sub-sections, very much differing from the present way of dividing them, might here be added: but those being intricate, and of little Service to the Church, we shall omit them for the present, as being more proper for a critical Discourse by themselves; and proceed to the next part of the Service of the Church in the *Missæ Catechumenorum*, which was the Sermon or Homily, immediately after the

he reading of the Psalms and other Scriptures, before any Prayers were made for any Sorts or Conditions of Men.



## C H A P. IV.

*Of Preaching, and the Usages relating to it, in the Antient Church.*

**W**HEN the Psalms and Lessons were read, before the *Catechumens* were dismissed, the Bishop, or some other appointed by him, made a Discourse to the People: which Discourses were commonly termed *Homilies*, from the *Greek* Word *ὁμιλία*, which signifies any Discourse of Instruction to the People, composed either by the Preacher himself, or read out of a Book. Among the *Latins* they were called *Tractatus*, which Word signifies any Exposition or Handling of Scripture as well by Writing as Preaching: and in both Senses the *Tractatores* were opposed to the *Canonici* and *Authentici*, the Prophets, Evangelists and Apostles, who wrote by Inspiration, and whose Authority was absolutely infallible and authentick. This Distinction is often inculcated by St. *Austin*; and *Claudius Mamertus* speaks of them under the same Terms. St. *Jerom* speaks of Preaching under the Name of *Disputations*; *Tertullian* calls them *Allocutions*. Among the *Greeks* they are frequently called  *λόγοι*, which answers to the *Latin* Word *Sermones*, and the *English* Word *Sermons*. The most antient Name was *Evangelium*, but that belonging more peculiarly to the preaching of the Apostles, is seldom ascribed to any others. A more general Name in Scripture is *διδασκαλία*, Doctrine and Teaching; whence Preachers of the Word are called *διδάσκαλοι*,

De Star. An. l. 2.  
c. 10.  
Ep. 22. ad Eust.  
De An. c. 9.



Book XIV. Doctors and Teachers, who were the same as the *Tractatores* in after-Ages.

PREACHING among the Antients was one of the chief Offices of a Bishop; insomuch that in the *African* Churches a Presbyter was never known to preach before a Bishop in his Cathedral Church till St. *Austin's* Time; and he was the first who was allowed. Yet in the *Eastern* Churches this Custom somewhat varied; for Presbyters were there allowed, tho the Bishop preached a Sermon at the same time after them: as will appear hereafter, from the Practice of *Chrysostom* and *Flavian* at *Antioch*, and other Examples.

In lesser Churches of the City, and Country about, Presbyters were allowed this Privilege, as the Bishop's Assistants, where he himself could not be personally present; for in all other Cases the Laws both of the Church and State concurr'd to enforce this Duty of the Bishop.

That the Bishop was always to make a Sermon before the Dismission of the *Catechumens*, is evident from the Council of *Laodicea*, and that of *Valencia* in *Spain*; tho these Councils do not so much enjoin Bishops to preach, as presuppose it to be their constant and general Practice. But the Council of *Trullo* speaks more expressly by way of Injunction, That the Rulers of Churches ought every Day, but especially on the Lord's Day, to teach all the Clergy and People the Words of Truth and Godliness, gather'd out of the Holy Scriptures: And one of the Imperial Laws charges them with Sacrilege who neglect it. Notwithstanding this, *Sozomen* relates that the Church of *Rome* in his time had no Sermons either by the Bishop or any other: and *Valesius* is very confident that *Sozomen's* Relation is true, because *Cassiodore*, who was a Senator and Consul, and *Præfectus Prætorii* at *Rome*, has the same out of *Sozomen* in his *Historia Tripartita*, without any Correction: And he says farther, that no one can produce any Sermons preached to the People by any Bishop of *Rome* before *Leo*, who preached

Can. 19.

Can. 1.

Can. 19.

Cod. Th. 1. 16.

tit. 2.

L. 7. c. 19.

preached not till after *Sozomen* had wrote his History. But if this happened to be so just in the time of *Sozomen*, it is a matter of Dispute whether it was always so before him: tho it is allowed by *Surius*, one of their own Writers, that in the *Roman Church* the Custom of Preaching was again discontinued after *Leo* for five hundred Years together, till *Pius Quintus* revived it.

But there is another Question in relation to the antient Church, which is of great moment, and deserves a Resolution, viz. Whether Laymen were ever allowed by Authority to make Sermons to the People. That they did it as Catechists in their Catechetick Schools at *Alexandria* and other Places, there is no doubt; for *Origen* Euseb. l. 6. c. 3. was not in Orders when he read Lectures in the Catechetick School at *Alexandria* by the Appointment of *Demetrius*: and *St. Jerom* says De Script. c. 36. there was a long Succession of famous Men in that School, who were called Ecclesiastical Doctors upon that account: But this was a different thing from publick Preaching. However it is certain that the Monks did sometimes take upon them this Office, particularly in the *Eastern Parts* about *Antioch*: but as all Monks, consider'd as Monks, were no more than Laymen, this was censured as an Usurpation of an Office that did not belong to them; and Pope *Leo* wrote two Letters to *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Theodore*, to restrain that Practice. Yet in some Cases a special Commission was given to a Layman to preach; and then he might do it by the Bishop's Authority for that time. Thus *Eusebius* L. 6. c. 19. says, *Origen* was approved by *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem* and *Theoctistus* of *Casarea*, to preach and expound the Scriptures in the Church, being yet a Layman: and that *Alexander* vindicated himself upon this account, by saying, That it was an usual thing, when Persons were well qualified, for Bishops to intreat them to preach to the People; as *Euelpis* was requested by *Neon* at *Laranda*, and *Paulinus* by *Celsus* at *Iconium*, and *Theodorus* by *Atticus* at *Synada*. These had all

Book XIV. special Directions, and were therefore not liable to the Charge of Usurpation, whatever Irregularity or Novelty there might be in the Action. By a Canon of the fourth Council of *Carthage* a Layman is forbid to teach in the Presence of the Clergy, except they request him to do it: And if this relates to publick teaching in the Church, it seems to allow that Liberty upon Concession. *St. Ambrose* says, that in the Beginning of Christianity a general Commission was granted to all, that they might preach, baptize, and explain the Scriptures in Ecclesiastical Assemblies; tho afterwards those Offices were confined: so that in his time even Deacons might not preach. If he means an unlimited Commission without previous Qualifications and Examination of them, his Opinion is very singular: but if he means that all who had extraordinary Gifts were allowed to exercise those Gifts without any external Ordination, that is no more than what the best Interpreters of *St. Paul's* Words, *1 Cor. 14. 31. Ye may all prophesy one by one*, do commonly allow. But then, as such extraordinary Gifts were in a manner peculiar to the Apostolical Age, this could not be a Rule to the following Ages of the Church, when once those Gifts were ceased; except where some extraordinary natural Endowments, answering in some measure to those spiritual Gifts, made it proper to grant a Licence to Laymen to exercise their Talents for the Benefit of the Church: or else when Necessity imposed the Duty on Deacons to perform the Office of preaching, when the Bishop and Presbyters were by Sickness or other Means debarred from it. For the same Author plainly says, that Deacons in his time did not ordinarily *Pradicare in Populo*, preach to the People; that being an Office to which they had no ordinary Commission. And if Deacons were not allowed this Power, it is less to be wonder'd at, that, when spiritual Gifts ceased, it should generally be denied to Laymen.

As to Women, they were never allowed to preach in the Church; as appears plainly from the

Can. 98.

Com. in Eph. 4.

the Apostle's Rules, and those of the succeeding Ages. The Apostle says expressly, *Let your Women keep silence in the Churches, &c.* and the ancient Church most constantly observed this Rule. The same Council of *Carthage*, which allows Lay-  
Can. 99.  
 men to teach by Permission, forbids Women, however learned or holy, to presume to do it. Notwithstanding there were some Hereticks who made Women Priests; but the Author of the  
L. 3. c. 19.  
*Constitutions* calls it an Heathenish Practice. The *Montanists* were a noted Sect for giving this Liberty to Women, under pretence of Inspiration by the Spirit; so that they had not only their Prophetesses, but also their Women Bishops, and Women Presbyters: And St. *Austin*  
Hær. 27.  
 informs us, that among the *Pepuzians*, who were a Sub-division of the *Montanists*, their Women were dignified with the highest Offices of the Priesthood. *Epiphanius* brings the same Charge  
Hær. 78.  
 against the *Collyridians*, so called from their offering *Collyria*, or Cakes, in Sacrifice to the Virgin *Mary*: And *Firmilian* mentions another such  
Ep. 75. ad Cyp.  
 Woman among the *Cataphrygians*, who pretended by the Spirit of Prophecy to preach, pray, baptize, and offer the Eucharist in their publick Assemblies; from whence it appears that this was only the Custom of Hereticks.

As to the manner of their performing this Office of Preaching, the Author of the *Constitutions*  
L. 2. c. 57.  
 gives this Rule about it: When the Gospel is read, let the Presbyters one by one, but not all, speak the Word of Exhortation to the People, and last of all the Bishop. And that it was thus in the Eastern Churches appears evidently from St. *Chrysostom's* Sermons, preached while he was yet a  
Hom. 2. de Ver. Iliad.  
 Presbyter at *Antioch*. In these he plainly speaks of *Flavian* the Bishop, as designing to speak after him, in some such Form as this: It is now time for me to keep silence, that our Master may have time to speak. And the like Instances occur in St. *Basil*, *Gregory*, *Nyssen*, *Theodoret*, St. *Austin*, and St. *Jerom*, who particularly reflects upon the  
Ed. 2. ad Nepot.  
 contrary Practice in some Churches (those of  
*Egypt*



Book XIV. *Egypt and Africa*) where the Bishops allowed none to preach but themselves. In this case also, when two or more Bishops happen to be present, it was usual for several of them to preach one after another, reserving the last Place for the most Honourable; as St. *Jerom* tells us, that *Ephiphanius* and *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, preached both together in the Church of *Jerusalem*: And this Practice was common at *Constantinople*, where a Multitude of Bishops were often present to attend the Court, or advise with the Patriarch about the Affairs of the Church.

Ep. 61. ad Pam-  
mac.

Ep. 22. ad Eust.

Can. 19.

In Hexam. Hom.  
2.

Duty of Preach-  
ing, c. 3.

In some Places they had Sermons every Day, especially in *Lent*, and on the Festival Days of *Easter*. St. *Chrysostom*'s Homilies upon *Genesis* were preached in a running Course of two *Lents*, one Day after another. His Homilies de *Statuis* were preached after the same manner. The same Custom was observed among the Monks of *Egypt* every Day, as St. *Jerom* says. As for the Festivals of the Martyrs, it is certain they never omitted them; as appears from St. *Austin*'s Sermons de *Sanctis*, and abundance throughout St. *Chrysostom*'s Works upon such Occasions. *Casarius* Bishop of *Arles* preached almost every Day, and frequently both Morning and Evening, as the Writer of his Life attests. And the Council of *Trullo* has a Canon to promote this Practice.

That in some Places also they had Sermons twice a Day, in *Cappadocia* and *Cyprus* particularly, is observed from St. *Basil*; tho some confine the Custom to those Places only, and for that Reason will not allow it to have been any Rule or Custom of the Church. But Bishop *Wettenhall* was of a different Judgment; he thinks that in Cities and greater Churches, it was usual for the Pastors to preach on *Sundays*, both Morning and Afternoon: And for this he brings several Testimonies from St. *Chrysostom*, of his own Practice. And in the *Latin* Church we sometimes meet with Examples of the same kind, tho not so frequent. St. *Austin* preached not only every Day, but sometimes twice on the same Day: This is evident

dent from his two Sermons on the 88th Psalm, in the latter of which he says, He had preached before in the Morning, and remained in Debt for the Afternoon. *Gaudentius* also, Bishop of *Brixia*, speaks of his having preached twice on the Vigil before *Easter*. And it is probable the same Solemnity was observed in like manner in other Places: For upon this occasion especially they made a Distinction in their Sermons, preaching one to the Catechumens, and another to the *Neophytes*; for which reason St. *Austin*, in one Homily upon *Easter-day*, excuses himself for the shortness of it, because he was to preach again to the Infants, as they then called all Persons newly baptized. This Distinction of Sermons to the *Neophytes* is also taken notice of by St. *Ambrose* and *Theodoret*; and St. *Austin*, in like manner.

Chap. 4.

Serm. 2. in Pf.  
88.  
Tract. 4.

Hom. 82. de di-  
vitiis.

But in Country Parishes there was not such frequent Preaching, as St. *Chrysostom* observes; so that their chief Resort for Preaching was to the City Churches. It was not till the beginning of the 6th Century, that Preaching was generally set up throughout the Country Parishes in the *French Church*; when an Order was made for it, *An. 529.* by the second Council of *Vaison*; in which it was allowed, that if the Presbyter was infirm, a Deacon should read one of the *Homilies* of the holy Fathers.

Hom. 65. de  
Martyr.

Cau. 2.

As to the manner and method of preaching among the Antients, their Sermons were distinguished into four kinds: 1. Expositions of Scripture. 2. Panegyric Discourses upon the Saints and Martyrs. 3. Sermons upon particular Times, Occasions, and Festivals. 4. Sermons upon particular Doctrines and moral Subjects, to illustrate the Truth against Heresy, and recommend the Practice of Virtue. And of all these kinds there are the brightest Examples in St. *Chrysostom's* and St. *Austin's* Homilies, the two great Standards and Patterns of Preaching in the *Greek* and *Latin Churches*.

But tho many of the antient Sermons were studied and elaborate Discourses, yet they sometimes preached

## Book XIV.

Euseb. l. 6. c. 36.

preached *Extempore*. *Origen* was the first that began this way of Preaching in the Church, and suffered the *ταχυγράφοι*, or Notaries, to take them down. The Catechetical Discourses of *St. Cyril* are supposed to be of this kind; for at the beginning of almost every one it is said in the Title to be *ἑξῆς ἁδυσία*, i. e. an *Extempore Discourse*. And that many others of the Antients used this Custom, is evident from all Ecclesiastical History. And in regard to this, they are wont frequently to mention the Assistance of the Spirit, both in composing and preaching their Sermons; and for this we have again the Examples of *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Austin*, besides many others.

De Doct. Christ.  
l. 4. c. 15.

Ap Ferrar. de  
Concionib. veter.  
l. 1. c. 8.

And the better to obtain the Divine Assistance upon this Account, it was usual sometimes for the Preacher to make a short Prayer before his Sermon, and to move the People to pray for him. This was *St. Austin's* Practice, and he lays it down as a Rule for others, in his Instructions of the Christian Orator. This Rule also *St. Chrysostom* followed, and *St. Ambrose* is said to have used the following Prayer before his Sermon: 'I beseech Thee, O Lord, and earnestly intreat Thee, give me an humble Knowledge, which may edify: Give me a meek and prudent Eloquence, which knows not how to be puffed up, or vaunt it self upon its own Worth and Endowments above its Brethren. Put into my Mouth, I beseech thee, the Word of Consolation, and Edification, and Exhortation, that I may be able to exhort those that are good to go on to greater Perfection, and reduce those that walk perversely to the Rule of thy Righteousness, both by my Word, and by my Example. Let the Words which thou givest to thy Servant, be as the sharpest Darts and burning Arrows, which may penetrate and inflame the Minds of my Hearers to thy Fear and Love.' But this seems rather to have been a private Prayer, as some learned Men have observed. However, that they used some such Prayer for God's Assistance, and some-

sometimes required the Peoples Prayers to be joined with them, appears from that of St. *Austin*, where he desires the People to assist him with their Prayers to the Lord, That he would grant him Ability to explain the latent Mysteries and Difficulties of the Psalms, as well for their sakes as his own. In *Origen's* Homilies upon *Genesis*, &c. there are many such short Prayers, which being collected at large in a noted Book, to it we shall refer the Reader. But it must not be omitted, that St. *Austin*, as he began, so he always ended his Sermon with a short Prayer, in some of which we have this Form at length.

In Psal. 147.

Daillæus de Ob-

jec. Cult. l. 3.

c. 13.

Aug. Sermon. 30.

de Verb. Dom.

‘ now turn to the Lord God, our Father Almighty,  
 ‘ with a pure Heart, and give him Thanks with  
 ‘ all our Might, beseeching his singular Clemency,  
 ‘ with our whole Soul, that of his good Pleasure  
 ‘ he would vouchsafe to hear our Prayers; that he  
 ‘ would drive away the Enemy from all our  
 ‘ Thoughts and Actions by his Power; that he  
 ‘ would increase our Faith, govern our Minds,  
 ‘ grant us spiritual Thoughts, and conduct us to  
 ‘ everlasting Happiness, thro Jesus Christ his Son,  
 ‘ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him in  
 ‘ the Unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, World  
 ‘ without end. *Amen.*’ And in many other Homilies this Prayer is referred to, as a known Form, used frequently by him in the Close of his Sermons, *Conversi ad Dominum*, &c. But he sometimes varied and shortened this Form, as the Matter of his Sermon required.

It was usual in some Places to give the Audience the *Pax vobis*, before they began to preach; and this the Author of the *Constitutions* calls *εὐχισμὸς*, L. 8. c. 8. the Salutation, giving this Rule to the Bishop newly ordained: After the Reading of the Law, &c. let him salute the Church, saying, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God the Father, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all*; and let all the People answer, *And with thy Spirit*: And after this Salutation, let him speak to the People the Words of Exhortation. And that this was no new Custom obtruded upon the Church



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Hom. 3. in Col.

Hom. 36. in 1  
Cor.

L. 3. &amp; 7.

De Ritu Concion.  
L. 1. c. 11.Hom. post Redic.  
Hom. 3, 4, 5, 6.  
ad Pop. Antioch.

Church by that Author, appears from several Places in St. *Chrysostom*'s Homilies, where he says, the Bishop when he enter'd the Church, said, *Peace be unto you all*; and the same when he began to preach. In some Places he also gives the Reason of this Custom, That it was an antient Custom in the Apostles Days, when the Rulers of the Church had the Gift of Inspiration; and tho that Gift was ceased, yet all Preachers still were presumed to be under the Conduct and Assistance of the Spirit in a lower Degree, and therefore used that Expression. And by this we may understand what *Sozomen* means when he says, the People forced *Chrysostom* to go up into the Throne, and give them the *Peace* in the usual Form, and preach to them. *Optatus* says this Custom was used in *Africa*, both in the Beginning and End of their Sermons: For he says they used a double Salutation, and that the Bishop never began to speak to the People before he had first saluted them in the Name of God; and as his Beginning, so was his Conclusion.

But it is observable, That among all the short Prayers used by the Antients, they were always made to God, and that there never was any mention of an *Ave Maria* in them; neither indeed was that Prayer ever thought of till the 15th Century, when *Vincentius Ferrarius*, a *Dominican*, was the first that ever used it before his Sermons, as *Ferrarius* ingenuously confesses: And from him it came afterward to be joined with the Lord's Prayer in the *Roman Breviary*.

It is farther observable, that as they thus pre-faced their Sermons with a short Prayer, so they were sometimes introduced with a short Form of Benediction, particularly in Times of Distress, or Deliverances out of it. And of this there are several Instances in St. *Chrysostom*. It appears also both from several of his Homilies and others, that they sometimes preached without any Text, and treated only of such Matters as they thought proper for the Occasion. But most commonly they chose a Text out of the Psalms or Lessons,

as they were read. And sometimes they preached upon the *Psalms*, the *Epistle*, and *Gospel* all together, when they were either accidentally, or by their own appointment, upon the same Subject. But they never chose their Text out of *Aristotle's Ethics*, as one of the *Romish* Preachers did at *Paris* in the hearing of *Melancthon*, as *Sixtinus Amama* tells us; neither did they ever entertain their Auditory with light, ludicrous, fabulous or romantick Stories, but upon the most solid Subjects, such as the Creation, the Soul of Man, the Fall of Man and Angels, Providence, the two Covenants, &c. as *Gregory Nazianzen* De Fuga. observes.

And as they were careful in the Choice of their Subjects, they were no less to put their Matter into the most useful and pleasing Dress: And if we will take *St. Austin's* Character of them, it was this; That their Discourses were always upon weighty and heavenly Matters, and their Style answerable to the Subject, that is, plain, elegant, majestick and nervous, fitly adapted to instruct, to delight and charm, and to convince and persuade their Hearers.

There was but one Case in which they affected to speak any thing darkly, *viz.* when they preached in a mixed Auditory, where the Catechumens were present, from whom they purposely intended to conceal some of the profounder Knowledge of the Christian Mysteries for a time, and therefore they usually spake of them in a covert Way; the Reasons of which having been mentioned before, we shall need to say no more of them in this Place.

It is also observable of the antient Preachers, that it was no part of their Oratory to raise the Affections of their Auditors by Gesticulations, or the Use of external Shews and Representations of things in their Sermons, as is now done in the *Romish* Church; and which *Ferrarius* owns, except it be done very appositely and prudently, is more apt to excite Laughter than Sorrow: And which

Book XIV. which of the two it oftner produces, is easy to guess.

Next to the Matter and Style of their Sermons, the Question may be ask'd as to the Length of them. Some will have it that they were an Hour; but they cannot define by what Instrument they measured their Hour: Others were of opinion that their Sermons were often very short; and indeed it appears so from several of *St. Austin's*, which a Man may pronounce distinctly, and deliver decently in eight Minutes, and some almost in half the time. Some indeed of *St. Austin's*, and a greater Part of *Chrysostom's*, *Nazianzen's*, &c. are longer; but scarce any of them would last an Hour, and many not half the time. Besides, when we consider that many times they had two or three Sermons at once, it would be absurd to think that each of them was an Hour long, when the whole Service lasted but two, as *Chrysostom* often declares in his Sermons, making that an Argument to the People why they should attend Divine Service chearfully, since God had reserved one Day out of seven for himself, and exacted no more than two Hours on that Day to be spent in his Service.

It may be enquired farther, whether all Preachers were obliged to deliver their own Compositions? To this, it is certain they were not always confined; for the Homilies of *Chrysostom*, and *Ephraim Syrus* were read instead of Sermons in many Churches. Those of *Casarius Arelatenfis* were read in the French Churches; where also Deacons were authorized to read Homilies in the Country Churches, by the second Council of *Vaison*. And Bishops also did the same, as appears from *Gennadius* and others. *St. Austin* more particularly considers this Question, and makes a Case of Conscience of it; in which he confesses there were some who could speak well, yet could not make a Sermon of their own: and he does not severely condemn such, if they made use of other Mens Compositions, well chosen and committed to Memory, always provided they squared their Actions

Hom. 48. de  
Insc. Alt. & 50.  
de Util. Lect.  
Script.

Can. 2.

De Scrip. c. 57.  
De Doct. Chris.  
l. 4. c. 29.

Actions according to those Doctrines which they delivered.

It must be noted also, that they always concluded their Sermons with a Doxology to the Holy Trinity. And that this was done not only after Arius broach'd his Heresy, but also before, appears from the Sermons of *Origen*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, and others mentioned by *St. Basil*, who had seen their Homilies, out of which he wrote a Vindication of that antient Form against some who pretended to charge him with Innovation for using a Form, which he says the Antients had always used before him.

De Spir. Sanc.  
c. 29.

As to the Posture in which Sermons were antiently delivered, it was usually sitting, tho there was no certain Rule about this, but the Custom varied in several Churches. In *Africk* the Preacher commonly sat, as appears from *Optatus*. L. 4. *St. Austin* also speaks of his own preaching sitting. *St. Chrysostom* and *Gregory Nyssen* do the same: Which is also noted by *Justin Martyr*, *Origen* and *Athanasius*, whom *Ferrarius* cites, and remarks upon them, that their rising up in the Close of the Sermon to Prayer, implies that they preached sitting before.

Ferrar. l. 2. c. 9.

But tho the Preachers delivered their Sermons sitting, in the *African* Churches the People were generally obliged to stand; and the same Custom prevailed also in many other Churches, especially in the *Gallican* and some of the *Greek* Churches, as *Sidonius Apollinarius* and *Eusebius* relate. However, in *Italy* the contrary Custom prevailed, and the People also had Seats. That it was so at *Rome* in the Time of *Justin Martyr*, is pretty plain from his second Apology, where he says, That as soon as the Bishop's Sermon was ended, they all rose up to Prayer together. And the same thing being noted by *Origen* and *Athanasius*, makes it probable that the same Custom was in many of the *Eastern* Churches. *Cyril of Jerusalem* expressly says, that the People heard his Discourses sitting. The Author of the *Constitutions*, who chiefly relates the Customs of the *Eastern*

Sidon. Carm. 16.  
ad Faust.  
Euseb. de Vir.  
Const. l. 4. c. 33.

Orig. Hom. 3. in  
Elai. & Athan.  
Hom. de Semen-  
te.  
Cat. 16. n. 11.  
L. 2. c. 38.



Book XIV. Churches, represents the People as sitting to hear the Sermon. And so *Cassian* and *St. Jerom* say it was the Posture in all the Monasteries of *Egypt*. So that this must be reckoned among those Rites and Customs, for which there was no certain Rule in the Church.

Init. l. 2. c. 12.  
Ep. 22. ad Eult.

But among other Customs, the following was peculiar to the *African* Church; when the Preacher chanced to cite some remarkable Text in the middle of his Sermon, the People used to join with him in repeating the Close of it. This is taken notice of by *St. Austin*; but whether it was a Custom in any other Place, is a doubt, it being mentioned by no other Writer.

Ser. 13. de Verb.  
Dom. & 2. de  
Ver. Apost.

The Custom of giving the Preacher Applauses in the Church was much more general: and this was done sometimes in Words, and sometimes by other Signs. The *Greeks* call this *κρότος*, i. e. a kind Approbation, either vocal or otherwise. As for the Vocal Applauses, they are mention'd by *Paulus Emisenus* as given to *Cyril* at *Alexandria*: And the other, such as clapping of their Hands, &c. are frequently noticed by several other Writers, *St. Jerom*, *George of Alexandria*, *Gregory*, and others.

Hom. de Incarn.

But tho' the Antients did not wholly disallow this Practice, so neither did they much commend the Persons that gave them; because they were often but fallacious Signs: and therefore what they chiefly desired, was to persuade them to a good Life, and a longing Desire after the things of another World, which they valued far above all the Applauses that could be given them. Thus we find *St. Austin* did not refuse these Acclamations of the People, yet he always took care to remind them rather to repay him with the Fruit of their Lives and Actions. Hence also *St. Jerom* lays it down as a Rule to *Nepotian*, That he should endeavour to excite the Groans of the People by his Preaching, rather than their Applauses; and let the Tears of the Hearers be the Commendation of his Sermons. *Prosper* speaks much to the

Ep. 2. ad Nepot.

Hom. 16. tom 5. same purpose: And *St. Chrysostom* is very express,

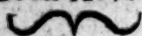
That

That the Praise of the Speaker is not the  $\kappa\rho\acute{o}\tau\omicron$ , the Acclamation of his Hearers, but their Zeal for Piety and Religion; not their making a great stir in time of Hearing, but shewing Diligence at all other times.

Another thing to be noted concerning the Hearers among the Antients, was, that many of them learned the Art of Notaries, *i. e.* ready Writers, that they might pen down the Sermons of famous Preachers as they were spoken. And by this means many of the *extempore* Sermons of the Antients have been handed down to us, which had otherwise been buried in Oblivion. This Custom is observed by *Eusebius*, *St. Austin*, *Socrates*, &c. But of these Notaries there were two sorts: Some were a kind of publick Notaries appointed for this purpose; but others did it privately according to their Inclination and Discretion. The publick Notaries were generally allowed by the Author's Consent to publish what they wrote: In which Case it was usual for the Preacher to review his own Dictates, and correct such Mistakes, and supply such Deficiencies as might be caused by the Hasten of the Scribe, and to make Amendments of some *extempore* Discourses. But when the Notaries published what they had written, as they sometimes did, without the Author's Knowledge, we find them remonstrating against this as a clandestine Practice, and disowning the Writings upon this account. However, it is an Argument of the Hearers Attention and Respect to the Preacher, that they would be at so much pains to treasure up and preserve their pious Instructions.

Notwithstanding (as there will be in all Times) there were Errors among the Antients in point of Zeal for Religion, and those in the contrary Extremes; some erring in the Excess, and others in the Defect of religious Duties; which are both alike condemned in the Writings of the Antients. *St. Chrysostom* complains of those in his time who absented themselves from Religious Assemblies; and not only of such, but others also, who be-

Book XIV.



ing present at them, spent their time in idle Discourses, Laughing, Jestings, or transacting worldly Business; of others that turned the Church into a Theatre, seeking only to please their Ears, without any other Advantage: And finally of others who extolled their Preachers, but disgraced their Doctrine by their Lives and Actions. All which are alike censured by him, *St. Ambrose, Origen*, and others, as guilty of a Contempt of the Word of God.

But the Antients were not more careful to exhort Men against these Errors in defect, than to guard them against the other Extreme, which was an Overvalue and Esteem for Sermons; which *St. Chrysostom* tells us, was grown to such an Height, that some Men reckoned all other Parts of Divine Service to be useless without them. And these, says he, had their Arguments to plead in their own behalf; all which he proposes and answers in his third Homily upon the second of the *Thessalonians*, proving all their Pretences of this kind to be nothing else but a fanatical Affectation of Novelty, a fantastical Scepticism, and vicious Desire of being freed from all the Burden of attending upon religious Assemblies.

To these, there were others who complained that their Sermons were not frequent enough; or too short: And others again who thought they were too long, and were therefore disposed to leave the Assembly before Sermon was ended. Some Canons are pretty severe upon such Auditors. The fourth Council of *Carthage* orders Excommunication for them. But others used a more gentle way, sometimes contriving ingenious Stratagems and feigned Apologues to detain them; and sometimes ordering the Church-Doors to be shut till all was ended, as *Casarius Ariatensis* did; tho *St. Chrysostom* considers the Matter with some Distinction, and allows those who cannot bear a long Discourse to depart, which he admits to be only a pardonable, but by no means a commendable Action.

Cap. 24.

Cypr. Vir. Cap.  
far. c. 12.



## C H A P. V.

*Of the Prayers for the Catechumens, Ene-  
gumens, Competentes, or Candidates of  
Baptism, and the Penitents.*

**A**S soon as the Sermon was ended, the Publick Prayers of the Church began, and not before. This is expressly said by *Justin Martyr*, where giving an Account Apol. 2. of the Christian Worship on the Lord's Day, he says, They first read the Scriptures, then the President or Bishop made a Discourse or Exhortation; after which they rose up all together, and made their common Prayers. And *St. Chrysostom* Hom. 28.  
Hom. 11. in 1  
Thef. affirms the same in more Places than one. So that when he or any others say, Prayer went before Sermon, they are to be understood either of that short Salutation, which the Minister used at the Entrance upon every Office, *The Lord be with you*, the People answering, *And with thy Spirit*; or of some short Prayer of the Preacher, or of the private Prayers mingled with the Psalmody: and not of the common Prayers of the Church. For many Orders of Men might hear the Sermon, who might not hear the Prayers of the Faithful; and therefore the Sermon, &c. went before, that those might be dismissed when the Prayers begun.

These Prayers were of two sorts; such as were for the Faithful or Communicants only, at which neither Catechumens, nor Penitents, nor Ene-  
gumens, nor any unbaptized Persons might be present: And others, particularly for these several Orders, at which tho they themselves were allowed to be present, yet all Jews and Infidels,



Book XIV. and the *Audientes* or Hearers only among the Catechumens, were obliged to depart. And for that reason, when the Sermon was done, a Deacon was used to make Proclamation from some Eminence in the Church, *Ne quis Audientium, Ne quis Infidelium*; Let none of the Hearers, Let none of the Unbelievers be present; as it is worded in the *Constitutions*.

L. 8. c. 5.

When Silence was made, the Deacons cried again, Pray ye Catechumens; and, Let all the Faithful with Attention pray for them, saying, Lord have mercy upon them. Then the Deacon began a Prayer for them, called *προσφώνησις καὶ παρακλήσις*, or a Bidding Prayer for the Catechumens, because it was both an Exhortation and Direction how they were to pray for them. Two Forms of this are still extant, one in St. Chrysostom, and another in the *Constitutions*. That in the *Constitutions* runs thus: ' Let us all beseech

L. 8. c. 6.

' God for the Catechumens, that he who is gracious, and a Lover of Mankind, would mercifully hearken to their Supplications and Prayers, and accepting their Petitions, would help them, and grant them the Requests of their Souls according to what is expedient for them; that he would reveal the Gospel of Christ to them; that he would enlighten and instruct them, and teach them the Knowledge of God and divine things; that he would instruct them in his Precepts and Judgments; that he would open the Ears of their Hearts to be occupied in his Law Day and Night; that he would confirm them in Religion; that he would unite them to, and number them with his holy Flock, vouchsafing them the Laver of Regeneration, with the Garment of Incorruption and true Life; that he would deliver them from all Impiety, and give no Place to the Adversary to get advantage against them; but that he would cleanse them from all Pollution of Flesh and Spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them by Christ; that he would bless their going out and coming in, and direct all their Designs and Purposes to their Advantage,

' vantage. Farther yet, Let us earnestly pray  
' for them, That they may have Remission of  
' Sins by the Initiation of Baptism, and be  
' thought worthy of the Holy Mysteries, and re-  
' main among his Saints.'

Then the Deacon addressing himself to the Ca-  
techumens themselves, said, ' Catechumens arise !  
' Pray for the Peace of God, that this Day, and  
' all the Time of your Life may pass in Quiet-  
' ness and without Sin ; that you may make a  
' Christian End, and find God propitious and  
' merciful, and obtain Remission of your Sins.  
' Commend your selves to the Unbegotten God  
' by his Christ.'

To every Petition of this Bidding Prayer, the  
People, and especially Children, are appointed to  
subjoin, *κύριε ἐλέησον*, Lord have Mercy upon  
them.

After this, the Deacon bids them bow down  
and receive the Bishop's Benediction ; which is  
in the following Form of direct Invocation.

' O Almighty God, who art without Original  
' and inaccessible, the only true God, thou God  
' and Father of Christ thy only-begotten Son,  
' God of the Comforter, and Lord of all things,  
' who by Christ didst make Learners become  
' Teachers for the Propagation of Christian Know-  
' ledge ; look down now upon these thy Ser-  
' vants, who are learning the Instructions of the  
' Gospel of thy Christ, and give them a new  
' Heart, and renew a right Spirit within them,  
' that they may know and do thy Will with a  
' perfect Heart and a willing Mind. Vouchsafe  
' them thy Holy Baptism, and unite them to thy  
' Holy Church, and make them Partakers of thy  
' Holy Mysteries, thro Christ our Hope, who died  
' for them, by whom be Glory and Worship unto  
' thee, World without End. Amen.' After this  
let the Deacon say, *Catechumens, Depart in Peace.*

The Prayer in St. Chrysostom is in these Words :  
' That the merciful and gracious God would  
' vouchsafe to hear their Prayers ; that he would  
' open the Ears of their Hearts, that they may

Hom. 2. in 2  
Cor.

## Book XIV.

hear what *Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard*; neither hath it entered into the Heart of Man; that he would instil into them the Word of his Truth; that he would sow the Word of his Truth in their Hearts, and confirm his Faith in their Minds; that he would reveal unto them the Gospel of Righteousness; that he would give them a divine and heavenly Mind, pure and holy Thoughts, and a virtuous Conversation, always to mind, always to regard and meditate on the things that belong to him, and to be occupied in his Law Day and Night. Let us pray yet more ardently for them, that he would deliver them from all evil and absurd Employments, from all diabolical Sin, and all the Circumventions of the Adversary; that he would vouchsafe to bring them in due time to the Laver of Regeneration, and grant them Remission of Sins, and the Clothing of Incorruption; that he would, during their whole Lives, bless their going out and their coming in, their Houses and Families; that he would encrease and bless their Children, and bring them to the Measure of perfect Age, with the Instruction of Wisdom; and that he would direct all their Purposes to their Advantage.

After this, the Deacon bids them rise up, and pray for themselves, dictating what they were to pray for: 'Pray ye *Catechumens*, for the Angel of Peace, that all your Purposes may be peaceably directed: Pray, that this present Day, and all the Days of your Lives may be spent in Peace, and that you may make a Christian End. Commend yourselves to the living God, and to his Christ.'

This being done, says *Chrysostom*, we bid them bow their Heads, and receive the Benediction of God, as a Sign that their Prayers are heard: For it is not Man that blesses them, but by his Hands and Tongue we present their Heads, as they stand there, to the Heavenly King; and then all the Congregation with a loud Voice cry out, *Amen*.

This

This is mentioned in a Homily preached by *Chrysostom*, as some think, when he was Bishop of *Constantinople*; and if so, these were probably the Forms then used in the *Liturgy* of that Church.

Upon these two Forms it is observable, that *St. Chrysostom's* bids the Catechumens pray for the *Angel of Peace*, which that in the *Constitutions* does not; and that that in the *Constitutions* appoints Children to join in this common Prayer, which *St. Chrysostom's* does not: Which proves that these two Forms did not belong to the *Liturgy* of one Church; so that they make it probable one was the Form used in the Church of *Constantinople*, and the other that which was used at *Antioch*.

The *Energumens* were the next for whom Prayers were made; for tho they were the peculiar Care of the Exorcists, who were to pray over them in private, yet the Church thought fit to let them have her publick Prayers, and to be present at such as immediately respected their Condition. As soon therefore as the Catechumens were dismissed, the Deacon said, 'Pray ye *Energumens* who are vexed with unclean Spirits.' And exhorting the Congregation also, he said, 'Let us ardently pray for them (as the Words run in the *Constitutions*) that the merciful God, L. 8. c. 6. thro Christ, would rebuke the unclean and evil Spirits, and deliver his Supplicants from the Oppression and Tyranny of the Adversary; that he who rebuked the Legion of Devils, and the Prince of Devils, the Fountain of Evil, would now rebuke these Apostates from Piety, and deliver the Works of his own Hands from the Molestations and Agitations of Satan, and cleanse them whom he hath created in great Wisdom. Let us farther most ardently pray for them: Save them, and raise them up, O God, by thy Power.'

Then he bids them bow down their Heads, and receive the Bishop's Benediction, which is in the follow.



Book XIV. following Form of Words immediately addressed to Christ.

‘ O thou Only-begotten God, the Son of the  
 ‘ Great Father ; thou that bindest the strong one,  
 ‘ and spoilest his Goods ; that givest Power unto  
 ‘ us to tread on Serpents, Scorpions, and over all  
 ‘ the Power of the Enemy ; that hast deliver’d  
 ‘ up the murdering Serpent unto us a Prisoner,  
 ‘ as a Sparrow unto Children ; thou before whom  
 ‘ all things shake and tremble at the Presence of  
 ‘ thy Power ; that makest Satan to fall from  
 ‘ Heaven to the Earth as Lightning, not by a  
 ‘ local Fall, but by a Fall from Honour to Dis-  
 ‘ grace, because of his voluntary Malice ; thou  
 ‘ whose Looks dry up the Deep, and Threatnings  
 ‘ make the Mountains melt, whose Truth en-  
 ‘ dures forever ; whom Infants praise, and Suck-  
 ‘ lings bless, and Angels celebrate and adore ;  
 ‘ that lookest upon the Earth, and makest it trem-  
 ‘ ble ; that touchest the Mountains, and they  
 ‘ smoke ; that rebukest the Sea, and driest it up,  
 ‘ and turnest the Rivers into a Wilderness ; that  
 ‘ makest the Clouds to be the Dust of thy Feet,  
 ‘ and walkest upon the Sea as upon a Pavement :  
 ‘ Rebuke the evil Spirits, and deliver the Works  
 ‘ of thy Hands from the Vexation of the adverse  
 ‘ Spirit. For to thee belongs Glory, Honour,  
 ‘ and Adoration, and by thee to thy Father in  
 ‘ the Holy Spirit, World without end. *Amen.*’

Hom. 18. in 2  
 Cor. Hom. 3.  
 & 4. de Incom.

St. *Chrysostom* has not this whole Form, but he often refers to it as one of the publick Prayers of the Church, and plainly intimates both the Time and the Matter of the Prayer, with the Manner of the Address, that it was a common Prayer of all the People some time before the Appearance of *Christ* in the *Eucharist* ; and that as an Address to implore God’s Mercy on those pityable Objects who lay in that forlorn Condition before him. In which Sense he also styles it the first Prayer of Mercy ; not that it was the first Prayer in this Part of the Divine Service, but because they were greater Objects of  
 Pity

Pity than the Catechumens were, for whom the first Prayer was made.

The third Prayer in course of this Service, was for the *Competentes*, or Candidates of Baptism. And this probably was but occasional, against the solemn Times of Baptism. The Forms of this sort are also in the *Constitutions*, where as soon as the Energumens are dismissed, the Deacon is appointed to cry out, *Ἑξάδε ὁι ἐπιζήσαντες*, *Pray ye Candidates of Baptism*: 'And we that are already Believers, let us ardently pray for them; that the Lord would make them worthy to be baptized into the Death of Christ, and to rise again with him, and to be made Members of his Kingdom, and Partakers of his Mysteries; that he would unite them to his holy Church, and number them with those that shall be saved therein. Save them, and raise them up by thy Grace.'

Then they are ordered to bow down their Heads, and receive the Bishop's Benediction in the following Words.

'O GOD, who didst by the Prediction of thy holy Prophets, say to them that are to be initiated, Wash ye, make you clean; and by Christ didst appoint a spiritual Regeneration: Look down now upon these Persons who are to be baptized; bless and sanctify them; fit and prepare them, that they may be worthy of thy spiritual Gift, and the true Adoption of Sons, and thy spiritual Mysteries, and be deservedly number'd among those that are saved by Christ our Saviour, thro whom be all Glory, Honour and Adoration unto thee, and the Holy Ghost, World without End. *Amen.*'

The last sort of Prayers in this part of the Service, were for the *Penitents*, some of which being *Hearers* only, were dismissed with the Catechumens, that were distinguished by the same Name; but others, the *Kneelers* or *Prostrators*, were permitted to stay for the Prayers of the Church, and the Bishop's Benediction. When therefore the Candidates of Baptism were gone, the Deacon cried out, *Orate Penitentes, Ye that are*

Book XIV. *are under Penance, make your Prayers. And,*

Let us ardently pray for our Brethren that are doing Penance; that the God of Mercy would shew them the Way of Repentance; that the would admit their Recantation and Confession; that he would shortly bruise Satan under their Feet, and deliver them from the Snare of the Devil, and the Incurſion of evil Spirits, and preſerve them from all evil Words, all abſurd Practices, and all impure Thoughts; that he would grant them Pardon of all their Sins, voluntary and involuntary, and blot out the Hand-writing that is againſt them, and write them in the Book of Life; that he would cleanſe them from all Pollution of Fleſh and Spirit, and unite and reſtore them to his Holy Flock: for he knows our Frame; for who can glory that he has a clean Heart? or who can ſay that he is pure from Sin? for we are all liable to Punishment. Let us ſtill more ardently pray for them, becauſe there is Joy in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth; that they may turn from every evil Work, and accuſtom themſelves to all that is good; that the merciful God receiving them kindly, may reſtore them to the Joy of his Salvation, and confirm them with his principal Spirit, that they may never fall or be ſhaken again; that they may communicate in his Holy Solemnities, and be Partakers of his Holy Myſteries; that being made worthy of the Adoption of Sons, they may obtain eternal Life. Let us all farther ſay for them, Lord have mercy upon them: Save them, O God, and raiſe them up by thy Mercy.

When this was ſaid, the Deacon bids them riſe up, and bow their Heads to receive the Biſhop's Benediction, which is ſtilled alſo Impoſition of Hands, and Prayer for the Penitents, and is in the following Words.

O Almighty and Eternal God, the Lord of the whole World, the Maker and Governour of all things, who haſt made Man to be an Ornament

ment of the World thro Christ, and hast given him both a natural and a written Law, that he might live by the Rules thereof, as a rational Creature; that hast also, when he hath sinned, given him a Motive and Encouragement to repent, even thy own Goodness: Look down now upon those Men who bow the Necks of their Souls and Bodies unto thee; for thou desirest not the Death of a Sinner, but his Repentance, that he should turn from his evil Way, and live. Thou that acceptedst the Repentance of the *Ninivites*; that wouldst have all Men to be saved, and come to the Knowledge of the Truth; that receivedst again the Prodigal Son, who had spent his Substance in riotous Living, with the compassionate Bowels of a Father because of his Repentance: Accept now the Repentance of these thy Supplicants; for there is no Man that sinneth not against thee. If thou, Lord, wilt mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? for there is Mercy and Propitiation with thee. Restore them to thy holy Church, in their former Dignity and Honour, thro Christ our God and Saviour; by whom be Glory and Adoration unto thee, in the Holy Ghost, World without End. *Amen.*

To these Prayers also *St. Gorysostom* often refers, tho he no where gives us them in Words. The Council of *Laodicea* also mentions it, as coming after the Sermon, next to the Prayers for the *Faithful*. And in all antient Canons, where we meet with the Names *Γόρυ κλίνομεν*, *ὑποπίπλομεν*, and *Prostrati*, Kneelers or Prostrators, we are to understand this Order of Penitents.

As to what Part of the Church these Prayers were made in, there are different Opinions. Some learned Persons think that all the Prayers of the Church were made at the Altar; and indeed all the Prayers in the Communion Service were so: but that these Prayers in the Service of the Catechumens were, is not so certain. For first, all these several Orders had their Station in a different Part of the Church; and we do not find that

Hom. 18. in 2 Cor.

Can. 19.

Stillingfleet's  
Unreasonable-  
ness of Separation.



## Book XIV.

Conc. Carth. 3.  
Can. 32.

Can. 23.

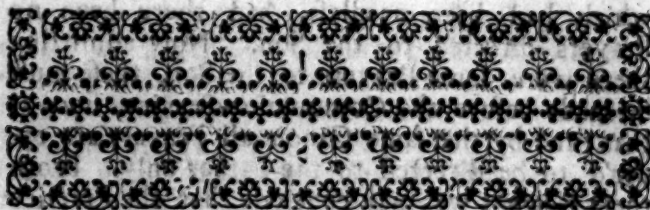
Aug. Hom. 237.  
Ambr. Ep. 33.  
ad Marcell.

that they were ever called up to the Altar to receive their Benediction; but in some Canons are ordered to receive Imposition of Hands, even in Absolution, before the *Apfis*, or Reading Desk, in case of scandalous Offences; tho Absolution was ordinarily given at the Altar. Now if Absolution was sometimes given before the Reading-Desk, there is little question but the other Prayers were made there also. 2. This Service of the Catechumens and Penitents was altogether a distinct Service from that of the *Fideles*; and those were to be dismissed before the latter Service began. 3. There is an express Order in the third Council of *Carthage*, that all Prayers made at the Altar, should be directed to the Father only, and not to the Son. Now the Prayer for the Energumens being directed to the Son, either the Discipline of the *Eastern Churches* differ'd very much from those of the *West*, or else some of these Prayers were not made at the Altar.

As to the *Greek Church*, it is demonstrated that they had such particular Services, but whether they were used in the *Latin Churches* is a Question of some Difficulty; because it does not appear that ever they directed their Prayers to the Son, or indeed had any such Prayers for Catechumens or Penitents, as they had in the *Oriental Liturgies*. And what increases the Difficulty, is, that some Authors seem to intimate, that as soon as the Sermon was ended, the Communion Service came on. For this they cite both St. *Austin* and St. *Ambrose*; but what they alledge from thence does not amount to a Proof that no other Prayer or Business interven'd. Nay, the Passage in St. *Ambrose* shews, that at least sometimes the Repetition of the *Creed* to the Candidates of Baptism, was in the Interval. And one of the fore-cited Canons of the Council of *Carthage* makes it evident, that at other times the Prayer for the Absolution of a scandalous Offender was made in the *Apfis* or Reading-Desk, before the Communion-Service likewise. And the other Canon as plainly

plainly intimates, that some Prayers were directed to the Son as well as the Father, by the Prohibition of not changing one Name for the other; which had been needless, had there been no Prayers directed to the Son. Now admitting there were some Prayers to the Son, these must be made before the Communion-Service, since at that time by the same Canon all Prayers are order'd to be directed to the Father only. From these Reasons we may conclude that the Practice of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches was the same, and that there were Prayers in both for all those several Orders before-mentioned.





## BOOK XV.

### *Of the Missa Fidelium, or Communion-Service*



#### CHAP. I.

#### *Of the Prayers preceding the Oblation.*



**W**HEN the several Orders of the Catechumens, Exorcismens and Penitents were dismissed, then began the *Missa Fidelium*, or Communion Service ; so called because none but Communicants (or at least such Penitents as had gone through all the Stages of Repentance, and were now waiting for Absolution ; called therefore *Συνιστάμενοι*, or *Co-standers*) might be present at it. They began this Service by a mental or silent Prayer, made by the People in private, and thence called, *Ευχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς*, the silent Prayer ; and *Ευχὴ κατὰ διάφοιαν*, the mental Prayer. This we learn from a Canon of the Council

Council of *Landicea*, which gives a summary Account of the whole Order of the Service of the Church, in these Words: 'After the Homily of the Bishop, first the Prayer of the Catechumens is to be made; and after the Catechumens are gone forth, then the Prayer for the Penitents; and when they have received their Benediction by Imposition of Hands, and are withdrawn, then the three Prayers of the faithful are to be made; the first of which is to be performed in Silence, and the second and third by the Bidding and Direction of the Deacon. After these the Kiss of Peace is to be given; Presbyters saluting the Bishop, and Laymen one another: And then the holy Oblation shall be celebrated; those of the Clergy only communicating in the Chancel.

Some take the Prayer *in Silence* here to mean no more than Prayers made over the Communicants by the Minister alone, the People not making any Responses; and the other Prayers called *Ευχαι προσφωνήσεως*, to have been with them. But this does not come up to the Canon. For the Prayer in Silence there means the private Prayers every Person made himself; and the others were such as the whole Church made in common by the Direction of the Deacon, repeating the several Forms, and leading them in the Petitions, to each of which they subjoined their *Κύριε ἐλέησον*, *Lord have mercy*, and grant the Petitions we ask; and then the Bishop added the *Επίκλησις*, or Invocation, which was also called *Collecta*, the Collect, because it was a Collection or Repetition of all the Prayers of the People.

That the Antients had their private Prayers first, appears from St. *Chrysostom*, as well as the foremention'd Canon; where he condemns the Abuse of them, because some spent their Time in them, doing nothing else but praying for Revenge upon their Enemies, and not in confessing their Sins and deprecating God's Judgments, for which they were design'd. St. *Basil* says they

Denon evulg.  
Pec. 57.



Book XIV. Spent their Vigils in such private Prayers, intermingled with divers sorts of Psalmody. And *Cassian* speaks of them both in the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches.

These private Prayers, with which the Communion Service began, were made by the Minister as well as the People, as appears in some of the oldest Liturgies of several Churches, quite different from the present Confessions in the *Roman* Missal; being made to God alone, and not to Saints and Angels. Thus it is in the Forms of Confession in *Gregory's Sacramentarium*, and others published by *Menardus*. And this is that Manuscript which Cardinal *Bona* so much magnifies in the Queen of *Sweden's* Library, as containing the Offices of the old *Gallican* Liturgy; and from whence he gives us the following Form, called *Apologia Sacerdotis*, the Apology of the Priest, or the Confession of his Sins.

Rer. Litur. l. 2.  
c. 1.

O Thou most admirable Majesty, and great God, Almighty Father, who art of infinite Goodness and Power, I who am a most vile Sinner, and condemn'd by the Testimony of my own Conscience, do approach Thee, and present my self in the sight of thy Greatness, before the Eyes of thine ineffable Majesty, before thy Holy Face, not without due Reverence, yet with great Unworthiness and Neglect of Duty. I do not excuse, but accuse my self unto thee. I confess, I say, I confess the Unrighteousness of my Impiety, that thou mayst forgive the Wickedness of my Sin. I confess, that if thou dost not forgive, thou mayst punish me. I confess my self a Criminal before thee, and yet I know my Amendment is only in Words. In Words I endeavour to appease thee, but in Works I offend thee. I am sensible of my Faults, and yet I defer the Amendment. Assist me therefore, assist me, O thou ineffable Goodness. Pardon me, pardon me, O most adorable Trinity. Spare me, spare me, spare me, I beseech thee, O most merciful God. Hear me, hear me, hear me, I beseech thee, when

when I cry in the Words of that prodigal Son, O Father, Eternal God, I have sinned against Heaven and before Thee; I am no more worthy to be called thy Son, make me as one of thy hired Servants. And now, Merciful Father, I fly to the only Refuge and Haven of thy Mercy, under the Protection of Christ; that what is vile in me, thou mayst favourably vouchsafe to accept in him, who livest and reignest for ever and ever, Amen. This Prayer shews us the Meaning of that silent Prayer in the Council of *Laodicea*, which is called the first Prayer in the Entrance of the Communion, and is a Proof that no Saints or Angels were thought of at the time when this was composed.

And here it may be proper to observe the Difference of two antient Forms of Speech, viz. *Silentium indicere* and *Orationem dare*, because they have some relation to this Matter, and are used to denote the Custom of bidding the People fall to their private Devotions. Sometimes the Bishop was used to give the Signal, by saying *Oremus*, and then the People went to their private Devotions; after which the Bishop summed up their Prayers in a short Collect, by way of solemn Invocation. And this Action of the Bishop was called *Orationem dare*; but when the Deacon did it, he was said *Silentium indicere*; which does not signify barely making the People attentive, but there was a farther Meaning in it, that they were for a time there to attend to their own private Prayers, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* has observed. Orig. Brit. c. 4.

The second Sort of Prayers mentioned in the *Laodicean* Canon are the *Ευχαι διὰ προσφωνήσεως*, Bidding Prayers, because they were not only a Call to People to pray, but a Direction also what Particulars they were to pray for. This Sort of Prayer is called *Προσφωνήσις ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν*, a Direction or Bidding Prayer for the Believers, in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, where there is a Form of it; and it is usher'd in with these Words: L. 8. c. 9, 10.

Book XV. *Let no one of those that are not allowed come near. As many as are Believers, let us fall upon our Knees. Let us pray to God through his Christ. Let us all intensely beseech God through his Christ.* Then follow the Petitions in this Order :

*Let us pray for the Peace and Tranquillity of the World and the holy Churches ; that the God of the whole World would grant us his perpetual and lasting Peace, and keep us persevering to the End in all the Falseness of Piety and Virtue.*

*Let us pray for the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church from one End of the Earth to the other ; that the Lord would keep it unshaken and undisturbed with Storms and Tempests, founded on a Rock, to the end of the World.*

*Let us pray for the holy Church, *ταπεινάς*, in this Place ; that the Lord of all would grant us Grace to persue his heavenly Hope without ceasing ; and that we may render him the continual Debt and Tribute of our Prayers.*

*Let us pray for the whole Episcopate, or Company of Bishops under Heaven, who rightly divide the Word of Truth. And let us pray for *James* our Bishop and his Churches.*

*Let us pray for *Clément* our Bishop and his Churches.*

*Let us pray for *Euodius* our Bishop and his Churches : That the Merciful God would preserve them in Safety, Honour and Length of Days, for the Benefit of his holy Churches ; and grant them a venerable old Age in all Piety and Righteousness.*

*Let us likewise pray for our Presbyters ; that God would deliver them from every absurd and wicked thing, and preserve them safe and honourable in their Presbytery.*

*Let us pray for the whole Order of Deacons and Subdeacons in Christ ; that the Lord would keep them unblameable in their Ministry.*

*Let*

‘ Let us pray for the Readers, Singers, Widows and Orphans.

‘ Let us pray for those that live in Matrimony and Procreation or Education of Children, that God would have Mercy upon them all.

‘ Let us pray for the Eunuchs that walk in Holiness.

‘ Let us pray for those that live in Continency or Virginity, and lead a pious Life.

‘ Let us pray for those that make Oblations in the holy Church, and give Alms to the Poor.

‘ Let us pray for those that offer their Sacrifices and First-fruits to the Lord our God; that the most Gracious God would reward them with heavenly Gifts, and restore them an hundred fold in this World, and grant them everlasting Life in the World to come; giving them heavenly Things for their earthly, and for their temporal Things those that are eternal.

‘ Let us pray for our Brethren that are newly baptized; that the Lord would confirm and establish them.

‘ Let us pray for our Brethren that are afflicted with Sicknes; that the Lord would deliver them from all their Distempers and Infirmities, and restore them again in Health to his holy Church.

‘ Let us pray for all those that travel by Sea or Land.

‘ Let us pray for those that are in the Mines and in Banishment, and in Prison, and in Bonds for the Name of the Lord.

‘ Let us pray for our Enemies and those that hate us.

‘ Let us pray for those that persecute us for the Name of the Lord; that the Lord would mitigate their Fury, and dissipate their Anger conceived against us.

‘ Let us pray for those that are without, and led away with Error; that the Lord would convert them.



## Book XV.

‘ Let us remember the Infants of the Church ;  
 ‘ that the Lord would perfect them in his Fear,  
 ‘ and bring them to the Measure of adult Age.

‘ Let us pray mutually for one another ; that  
 ‘ the Lord would keep and preserve us by his  
 ‘ Grace unto the End, and deliver us from the  
 ‘ evil One, and from all the Scandals of those  
 ‘ that work Iniquity, and conduct us safe to his  
 ‘ heavenly Kingdom.

‘ Let us pray for every Christian Soul.

‘ Save us, O God, and raise us up by thy  
 ‘ Mercy.

It is here to be supposed that at the End of every Petition the People answered *Κύριε ἐλέησον*, *Lord have mercy upon them*, or else, *Save them, O God, and raise them up by thy Mercy.*

It will easily be perceived what Affinity there is between this Prayer and our Litany, or the Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church. There are two other antient Forms still in being, one in the *Ambrosian* Liturgy, and the other in an antient Office transcribed by *Wicelius* out of the Library of *Fulda* ; but neither of them have any thing of the Invocation of Saints, nor are they so compleat as this : for which reason we shall omit them, and proceed to see what Remains of this Prayer we meet with in the undoubted Writings of the Fathers.

Litan. Missal. in  
 Cod. Fuld.

Hom. 2. de Obf.  
 Prophet.

*St. Chrysostom* shews plainly that they had such a Form of Prayer in the Church at *Antioch*, for he relates some of the Petitions of it ; which are so like the Form in the *Constitutions*, that one would judge the Author of those had his Form from the same Original, whence we are sure *St. Chrysostom* had his, viz. from the Liturgy of the Church of *Antioch*. For, says he, when you all in common hear the Deacon bidding this Prayer, and saying, *Let us pray for the Bishop, and for his old Age, and for Grace to assist him, that he may rightly divide the Word of Truth*, and for those that are here, and those that are in all the world, you refuse not to do what is commanded you, &c. And again : The Deacon, who ministers

in

in this Office, exhorts you to make Prayers for the whole World, and for the Church extended from one End of the Earth to the other, and for all the Bishops that rule and govern it; and ye obey with Readiness, &c. Here we may observe this was the Bidding Prayer. St. Chrysostom mentions this Prayer in another Place, as performed in common by the Ministers and People, all alike in the Posture of Kneeling, and after the Catechumens, &c. were dismissed: which is a plain Reference to the Bidding Prayer; and which he says was so much esteemed the common Prayer of the People, that the Children of the Church were enjoined to bear a part in it, it being supposed that their Innocency and Humility were good Recommendations of their Prayers, when they solemnly implored the divine Mercy.

Hom. 8. in 2 Cor.

Hom. 71. in Mat.

That there were such Prayers indicted by the Voice or Direction of the Deacons, that they preceded the Consecration of the Eucharist, and were properly called *Precationes* or *Deprecationes*, and *Communis Oratio*, because they were performed by the common Voice of the Deacon and the People, is evident from St. Austin; whence we learn the Meaning of the Deacon's being said *indicere communem Orationem*, viz. his going before them in a Form of Words, as well as commanding them to pray. In another Place he instances some other of the Petitions that were made at the Altar; for Infidels, that God would convert them to the Faith; for Catechumens, that God would inspire them with a Desire of Regeneration; and for the Faithful, that they may persevere by his Grace in that wherein they have begun: which are all the same Petitions that occur in the *Constitutions*, and are allowed in both to be done at the Bidding or Exhortation of the Minister.

Ep. 119. ad Jan.

Ep. 107. ad Vir.

St. Basil also speaks of these Prayers, under the Name of *κηρυγματα ἐκκλησιαστικά*, which is not to be understood of Preaching in the Church, but of these Prayers which the Deacon, as the common *κήρυξ* or Proclaimer and Director of the Ser-

Ep. 241.

## Book XV.

H. m. 34.

vice, appointed the People to make for all Orders of Men in the Church; as that Author explains himself. *Casarius Arelatenfis* also speaks of these Bidding Prayers in the *Gallican Churches*; and tho he mentions no particular Petitions, St. *Basil* does several.

The next to the Bidding Prayer was the *ἐπίκλησις* or Invocation, by the *Latins* called *Collecta*, because it was a Recapitulation of the preceding Prayers of the People. This Prayer differed from the former chiefly in this; as the Bidding Prayer was said by the Deacon and People kneeling, so this was presented by the Bishop standing. And therefore the Deacon was used to say at the End of the former Prayer, *Ἐγείσθε δα, Let us rise up, and praying earnestly let us recommend our selves and one another to the Living God by his Christ.* After which the Bishop makes this Prayer, as the Form is in the *Constitutions*.

L. 8. c. 11.

‘ O Lord Almighty and most High, Thou  
 ‘ that dwellest in the Highest, Thou Holy One  
 ‘ that retest in thy Saints (or holy Places) that  
 ‘ art without Original, the great Monarch of the  
 ‘ World; who by thy Son Christ hast caused  
 ‘ thy Knowledge to be preached unto us, to the  
 ‘ Acknowledgment of thy Glory and Name,  
 ‘ which he hath manifested to our Understand-  
 ‘ ings: Look down now by him upon this thy  
 ‘ Flock, and deliver it from all Ignorance and  
 ‘ wicked Works. Grant that it may fear Thee,  
 ‘ and love Thee, and tremble at the Face of  
 ‘ thy Glory. Be merciful and propitious unto  
 ‘ them, and hearken to their Prayers; and keep  
 ‘ them unchangeable, unblameable, and without  
 ‘ Rebuke: That they may be holy both in Body  
 ‘ and Soul, not having Spot or Wrinkle or any  
 ‘ such thing; but that they may be perfect, and  
 ‘ none among them deficient or wanting in any  
 ‘ Respect. O Thou their Defender, thou Al-  
 ‘ mighty, that regardest not Persons, be Thou  
 ‘ the Help of this thy People, whom thou hast  
 ‘ redeemed with the precious Blood of thy  
 ‘ Christ. Be thou their Defence and Succour,  
 ‘ their

‘ their Refuge and Keeper, their impregnable  
 ‘ Wall, their Bulwark and Safety: for no one  
 ‘ can pluck them out of thy Hand. There is  
 ‘ no other God like thee: in thee is our Hope  
 ‘ and strong Consolation. Sanctify them by thy  
 ‘ Truth; for thy Word is Truth. Thou that  
 ‘ dost nothing out of Partiality and Favour;  
 ‘ Thou that canst not be deceived, deliver them  
 ‘ from all Sickness and Infirmary, from Sin, from  
 ‘ all Injury and Fraud, and from the Fear of  
 ‘ the Enemy, from the Arrow that flyeth by day,  
 ‘ and the Danger that walketh in Darkness; and  
 ‘ vouchsafe to bring them to eternal Life, which  
 ‘ is in Christ thy only begotten Son, our God  
 ‘ and Saviour, by whom be Glory and Worship  
 ‘ unto Thee in the Holy Ghost, now and for e-  
 ‘ ver, World without End, *Amen.*’

This Prayer is certainly of the same nature, and probably one of those Prayers that were made *διὰ προσφωνήσεως*, which the *Constitutions* speak of: For tho they are distinguished by the Names of *προσφωνήσεις* and *ἐπίκλησεις* by the Author of the *Constitutions*; yet they both agreed in some things, to distinguish them from the silent Prayer that went before. First, they were pronounced audibly by the Minister, so as the People might join in the Responses to every Petition of the Deacon's Prayer, or by saying *Amen* at the Conclusion of the Bishop's: whereas the silent Prayers were made after a different manner, as has been noted, and might be different one from another. Secondly, They were both made at the Call of the Deacon, and so might have the Name of *προσφωνήσεις*. For he said before the one, *Let us fall down upon our Knees and pray to God:* and before the other, *Let us rise and commend our selves to God, παραδόμεθα ἑαυτὲς τῷ Θεῷ.* Whence also this and such like Prayers of the Bishop had the Name of *παραδύσεις*, *Commendations*: But the usual Name for them in the *Latin* Church was *Collectæ*, *Collects*, because these Prayers of the Bishop were a Recollection and Recommendation of the Prayers of the People.

Hence

Conc. Milevetan.  
 Can. 12.



Book XV. Hence the Phrase *Colligere Orationem*, to collect the Prayers, is used by *Cassian*; and hence also we may observe that a Collect is taken for the chief Minister's Prayer at the Close of some Part of divine Service, collecting and concluding the Peoples Devotions. The Council of *Agde* made it a standing Rule in the *Gallican Churches*, that the Bishop should always conclude the Morning and Evening Service with his Collect, and dismiss the People with his Benediction. From which it appears that these Collects among the *Latins*, and the ἐπικλησις and παρακλήσις, Invocations and Commendations of the *Greeks*, were the same sort of Prayers.

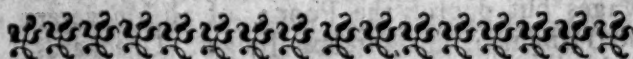
Can. 30.

De Dono Persev.  
c. 23.

St. *Austin* seems to intimate plainly that it was one Petition in this Prayer of common use in the *African Churches*, to pray for God's Grace to enable Believers to persevere to the End of their Lives. This Petition, he says, was made in the Priest's Invocation for the Faithful or Communicants in these Words, *Grant them Grace, O Lord, to persevere in thee unto the End*. Here we find the same Name which the *Greeks* gave this Prayer in the *Eastern Church*, the Invocation of the Bishop or Priest over the Faithful; and therefore it was in the Communion Service, where such Prayers only were made: then that it was a direct Invocation of God, such as the Bishop used to make, and not an Exhortation to pray, which was the Deacon's Office; that the Petition is the same in substance as that of the Bishop's Prayer in the *Constitutions*, *Keep them unchangeable*, &c. and that it had not Responses, as the Deacon's Bidding Prayer, but was answer'd only with an *Amen*, as St. *Austin* observes in the same Place. From all which it is probable that the Prayer we now speak of was referred to by him, and used in the *African Churches*.

†

CHAP.



CH A P. II.

Of the Oblations of the People, and other Things Introductory to the Consecration of the Eucharist.



T was an antient Custom from Apostolical Practice, for all Communicants of Ability to make their Oblations of Bread and Wine, and sometimes other Things, at the Altar ; out of which both the Elements were taken, and a common Feast was made for the Poor. These Oblations are taken notice of by *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, who intimates that they were weekly and monthly both, and that a Part of them was spent upon a sober Feast of Charity : by *St. Cyprian* also, and *St. Austin*, who reprimands such as were of Ability, and yet communicated of another Man's Oblation.

But then it was a Privilege to be allowed to make their Oblations ; and there were some who were debar'd from it. They would not receive the Gifts of such as were at Enmity or Variance with their Brethren ; neither at the Altar, nor into the Treasury : as *Optatus* tells us, All noted

and known Oppressors of the Poor were also denied this Privilege by the fourth Council of *Car-* Can. 94.

*thage*. A Bishop, say the *Constitutions*, must know whose Gifts he ought to receive, and whose not. He shall not receive the Gifts of fraudulent Hucksters, of such as afflict the Poor, oppress the Fatherless, fill the Prisons with innocent Persons, evilly entreat their Servants, lay waste whole Cities ; of Corrupters, Lawyers who plead for Injustice, Makers of Idols, Thieves, Harlots, unrighteous Publicans, those who use

Frauds

## Book XV.

Frauds in Weight or Measure ; of all Soldiers who are false Accusers, not content with their Wages but oppress the Poor ; of all Murderers and Hangmen, unrighteous Judges, Drunkards, Blasphemers, and Abusers of themselves with Mankind ; of all Usurers : and in a word, of every wicked Man that lives in Rebellion against the Will of God.

Again, it was a standing Rule of the Antients not to admit the Oblations of those, who having a Right to communicate, would not stay to partake of the Communion. This is expressly order'd by the Council of *Eliberis* ; and the Rule extended farther, to all excommunicate Persons, all Catechumens, Penitents, Energumens, and Strangers travelling without commendatory Letters, and such of the Clergy, as for some lesser Offences were reduced to the Communion of Strangers. For all these were in some measure Non-communicants, as not being in the full Communion of the Church ; who were all excluded by that Canon. Only if Penitents chanc'd to die suddenly, and were desirous to be reconciled, their Oblations were allowed, by some Canons, to be received after Death ; except they were such to whom the Church had denied all external Communion at the Hour of Death ; or such as had been so careless as not to desire Reconciliation at that time. In such Cases, as Pope *Leo* says, the Church did not communicate with those after Death, with whom she did not communicate when they were alive. Sometimes also they would not receive the Oblations of those who died in their Communion, if their last Act seem'd to have any thing irregular in it ; as appears from a Case in *Cyprian*. But in after Ages this Discipline was a little moderated : For the second Council of *Orleans* order'd, That if any one died in the Communion of the Church, his Oblation should be received, tho he happen'd to be slain in some Fault, provided he did not kill himself. But *Chrysostom* says this Privilege was denied to *Catechumens* that died without Baptism, and

Can. 23.

Conc. Arelat. 2.  
can. 12.

Vat. 1. can. 2.

Tol. 11. can. 12.

Ep. 92. ad Rust.  
c. 6.

Ep. 66. ad Cler.  
Furn.

and that no mention was ever made of them after Death, in the Prayers of the Church. If they had not the Benefit of Baptism, they were to be buried as Self-Murderers, or Criminals, without any Solemnity of Burial or Commemoration at the Altar, by a Canon of the Council of *Bracara*. Can. 35. In short, the Oblations of all Persons who were not in actual or full Communion, were absolutely to be rejected: and all such the antient Canons stile *κοινωνήτας χωρίς εὐχαριστίας*, i. e. such as communicated in Prayers without any Oblation.

Conc. Nic. c. 17.  
Conc. Ancy. c. 4, 5, 8, &c.

But this was more precisely observed in the Beginning of their Censures; for if a great Delinquent, a Heretick or other excommunicate Person, would have given his whole Estate to the Church, in such a Case they would not accept his Oblation. This appears from an Epistle under the Name of *St. Austin* to Count *Boniface*, in which he tells him, he had forbidden all his Clergy to accept the Oblation of his House, and interdicted him all Communion till he had done Penance for a certain bold Attempt, and offer'd to God first the Sacrifice of an humble and contrite Heart for the Error; which is in nothing disagreeable from the Discipline of those Times, when the greatest Gift would not be accepted from an Emperor, if he were an Heretick, or under the Sentence of Excommunication. Thus *Nazianzen* says *St. Basil* refused the Oblations of the Emperor *Valens*, because he denied the Divinity of *Christ*. So *Liberius* refused the Offering of *Eusebius*, the *Arian* Statesman under *Constantius*, as *Athanasius* and *Theodoret* report the Story with all its Circumstances. When *Constantius* drove *Liberius* into Banishment because he would not subscribe the Condemnation of *Athanasius* with the *Nicene* Faith, he sent him five hundred Shillings (*δρακσίνους*) to bear his Charges. But *Liberius* bid the Messenger return them to the Emperor, for his Soldiers had more need of them. The Empress also sent him the same Sum, which he returned to the Emperor with the like Answer. Last of all, *Eusebius* the Eunuch was sent to make him another

Ep. 6. ad Bonif.

Orat. 20. de  
Laud. Basil.

Athan. Ep. ad  
Solitar.  
Theod. l. 2. c. 16.



## Book XV.

De Præscrip. c.  
30.

Can. 3.

Can. 4.

Can. 5.

Can. 24.

Conc. Afric.  
can. 4.

Can. 57.

ther Offer, to whom *Liberius* replied, Thou hast hazarded and laid waste the Churches over all the World, and dost thou now offer me an Alms as a condemned Criminal? but go thou first, and learn to become a Christian. *Tertullian* also says, that *Marcion* the Heretick being excommunicated with *Valentinus* for his Heresy, when he brought two hundred *Sestertia* into the Church, they cast him out with his Gift together.

But they did not only make a Distinction in the Persons, but they also made a Distinction in the Oblations themselves. The most antient Custom was only to offer such things at the Altar as were proper for the Service of the Altar; and one of the *Apostolical* Canons forbids a Bishop or Presbyter, under pain of Deposition, to offer any thing in Sacrifice on the Altar contrary to the Lord's Command, as Honey, Milk, strong Beer instead of Wine, Birds or living Creatures, excepting only the first Fruits of Corn and Grapes in their proper Season. Another Canon forbids any thing to be brought to the Altar besides Oil for the Lamps, and Incense in the time of the Oblation. A third orders all other First-Fruits to be carried home to the Bishop and Presbyters. Some of the *African* Canons are to the same purpose. The third Council of *Carthage* allows nothing to be offer'd in the Sacraments but *Bread and Wine mingled with Water*; and nothing but Grapes and Corn in the Oblation of First-Fruits; yet on one most solemn Day, for the Mystery of Infants, they allowed Milk and Honey to be offer'd: But then they were to have their own peculiar Benediction, that they might be distinguished from the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord. That solemn Day was the great Sabbath or Saturday before *Easter*, which was the most solemn Time of Baptism, in which it was usual to give the new-baptized Persons a Taste of Milk and Honey, as has been before observed; and upon that account it was that the Oblation of those things was allowed. In the Time of the Council of *Trullo*, Milk and Honey were forbidden

bidden to be offer'd, but the Oblation of the First-Fruits of Grapes was still allowed, only with a distinct Consecration, and a distinct Distribution, if the People were desirous to eat their First-Fruits in the Church. However in other Churches, particularly in *France*, all things, Money or the like Gifts, were allowed to be received at the Altar.

In the *Roman* Church they were used to offer and consecrate a Lamb, and eat the consecrated Flesh, out of a pretended Reverence to the Lamb of God, as *Strabo* says; but *Photius* goes farther, and asserts that they offer'd it together with the Body of *Christ* upon the Altar. But this *Bona* denies, tho he allows what *Strabo* says, because the old *Ordo Romanus* has a Form for the Consecration of a Lamb on *Easter-day*, and it is agreeable to their present Practice.

When their Oblations were received, it was usual in many Places to rehearse the Names of such as offer'd, that a Commemoration of them might be made, and Prayers and Praises be offer'd to God for them at the Altar: And not only the Names, but the Sums also, as appears from *Cyprian*, who says that was done, that as the common Faith and Charity required, mention might be made of them in their Supplications and Prayers. *St. Jerom* also says the same; and *St. Chrysostom*, the Author of the *Constitutions* also, and Pope *Innocent* intimate the same Custom, in their Writings.

While the Oblations were made of Bread and Wine, the Elements for the *Eucharist* were usually taken out of them; and by consequence so long the Bread was the common leaven'd Bread, which they used upon other Occasions; and the Use of Wafers and unleaven'd Bread was not known till the 11th or 12th Centuries, when the Oblations of common Bread began to be left off. And that the Church always used common Bread, appears from the following Arguments. 1. That the Elements were usually taken out of the Oblations, which were common Bread and Wine.

2. *Epiphanius* notes it as a particular Rite of the

Conc. Aurel. 1.  
c. 16.

De Reb. Eccles.  
c. 18.

Ep. 60. ad Episc.  
Numid.

Her. 30. Ebion.

## Book XV.

Greg. Vit. l. 2.  
c. 41.

Honorius Gem-  
ma Animæ, l.  
1. c. 66. ap. Bon.

Cass. in Liturg.  
c. 27.

the *Ebionite* Hereticks, that they celebrated in unleavened Bread, and Water only : Which argues that the Church did otherwise. 3. The Antients say expressly it was the common Bread, such as they made for their own Use upon other Occasions. 4. The Antients are silent as to the Use of unleaven'd Bread in the Church ; but they often speak of the *Eucharist* under the Name of *Fermentum*, Leven, upon that account : As appears from the *Pontifical* in the Lives of *Melchisedech* and *Siricius*, and a Letter of Pope *Innocent*, where he says it was the Custom at *Rome* to consecrate the *Fermentum*, that is, the *Eucharist*, in the Mother-Church, and send it thence on the Lord's Day to the Presbyters in the *Tituli*, or lesser Churches, that they might not think themselves separated from the Bishop's Communion. 5. It is observable, that neither *Phorius*, nor any other Greek Writer before *Michael Cerularius*, An. 1051. ever objected the Use of unleaven'd Bread to the Roman Church : Which argues, that the Use of it did not prevail till about that Time. Yet how the Change was made, or the Time exactly when, is not easy to determine. *Bona* is of opinion it was when the People left off to make their Oblations in common Bread, which occasioned the Clergy to provide it themselves ; and they under pretence of Decency, brought it from Leven to Unleaven, from a Loaf of common Bread, that might be broken, to a nice and delicate Wafer, in the Figure of a *Denarius*, or Penny, to represent the Pence (as some Authors about that time will have it) for which our *Saviour* was betray'd. And then also the People, instead of offering a Loaf of Bread, as formerly, were order'd to offer a Penny, which was either to be given to the Poor, or expended upon something for the Service of the Altar.

But this Abuse was soon complained of : In the Year 1089, *Bernoldus*, a Presbyter of *Constance*, wrote against it, as *Trithemius* and *Cassander* assert ; the last of whom has published a Fragment of his, in his *Liturgicks*, where he also makes a severe Reflection

Reflection himself upon the Corruption and Vanity of that Age, for departing from the antient Practice, and introducing an imaginary sort of Bread, which deserved more the Name of the Shadow, than the Substance. And this Reflection is ingenuously repeated by *Bona* upon this Subject.

The other Part of the Sacrament was always Wine, taken also out of the Oblations: But this also was changed into Water by some antient Hereticks, Followers of *Ebion* and *Tatian*, who were commonly called *Hydroparastata* and *Aquarii*, from the Use of Water; and sometimes *Encratita*, from their abstaining wholly from Flesh and Wine. By which Names they stand condemned in many antient Writers, as well as by the Council of *Trullo* in later Times. But besides these, there were another sort of *Aquarians*, who did hold Wine to be unlawful in itself, or in the *Eucharist*, at which they used it in their Evening Service, but not in the Morning, for fear the Smell of the Wine should discover them to the Heathen. St. *Cyprian* gives a long Account of these in one of his Epistles, designed against them particularly; from which it appears that it was the Custom of the Church in his Time to mix Water with the Wine. This, he says, was necessary from the Command and Example of *Christ*. And the third Council of *Carthage* seems to have had the same Opinion, when they determined that nothing should be offer'd at the Altar, but what the Lord had commanded, *i. e.* Bread, and Wine mingled with Water. This seems to have been approved by St. *Austin*, then sitting in that Council, and afterwards quoting the foresaid Epistle of *Cyprian* with Approbation. *Gennadius* gives two Reasons for this Custom: 1. Because it is according to the Example of *Christ*. 2. Because when our Saviour's Side was pierced with the Spear, there came forth Water and Blood. This latter Reason is also assigned by St. *Ambrose*, and by *Martin Bracarenis* in his Collection of *Greek Canons*. The third Council of *Braga* relates *Cyprian's* Words, correcting several other Abuses crept into the Sacrament;

Epiph. Hær. 3.  
Aug. de Hær.  
c. 64.

Ep. 63. ad Cæcil.

Can. 24.

De Doct. Chris.  
l. 4. c. 21.

De Eccles. Dog.  
c. 75.

Can. 1.



Book XV.



Can. 8.

In Marc. 14.

Just. Apol. 2.

Iren. l. 4. c. 57.

Com. in Joh. 19.

32.

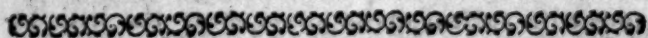
Her. 49.

of some offering Milk instead of Wine; of others dipping the Bread into the Wine, and others using no Wine but what they pressed out of the Clusters of Grapes that were then presented at the Lord's Table: All which they condemn, and order nothing but Bread, and Wine mingled with Water, to be offer'd in the Sacrifice of the Altar. The Council of *Auxerre* notes some others who offer'd Mead, or Honey and Water mixed together, and condemns them in like manner as offering against the common Rule. The Author of the Commentaries upon St. *Mark*, under the Name of St. *Jerom*, gives another Reason for mixing Water with Wine, that by the one we might be purged from Sin, and by the other redeemed from Punishment. But tho these Reasons are no ways demonstrative, that this Practice was both antient and general, is evident from *Justin Martyr* and *Irenaus*, who mention it as the Custom of the Church, without giving any farther Reason. And so also *Gregory Nyssen* and *Theodoret*, with some others mentioned by *Vossius* upon this Subject. The *Armenians* are said to have consecrated only in Wine, for which they are censured by *Theophylact*, and condemned with the *Aquarians* by the Council of *Trullo*, upon the Testimony of St. *James* and St. *Basil's* Liturgy produced against them. To which may be added the Liturgies under the Name of St. *Mark* and St. *Chrysostom*, and the *Constitutions*. Yet after all, as there is no express Command for this in the Institution, notwithstanding this general Consent of the antient Church, it is commonly determined by modern Divines on all sides, that it is not essential to the Sacrament it self; as is fully demonstrated by *Vossius* upon this Subject.

But besides the *Aquarians*, *Armenians*, &c. there was once a senseless Sect which did not think they celebrated the *Eucharist* to Perfection, unless they offered Cheese together with their Bread: Whence they had the Name of *Artotyrites*, from *Artos*, Bread, and *Tyros*, Cheese, of whom *Epiphanius* gives this Account: The *Artotyrites* are so called

called from their Oblation ; for they offer Bread and Cheese, saying, that the first Oblations that were offer'd by Men in the Infancy of the World, were of the Fruits of the Earth and of Sheep.

There were other Hereticks, such as the *Ascodruta* and *Anchontici*, &c. who despised all external Sacraments in general ; but having spoken of them before, it will be sufficient barely to have named them in this Place, to shew what sort of Men they were who antiently contemned this holy Ordinance.



### C H A P. III.

*Of the Oblation and Consecration Prayers.*

**W**HEN the Offerings were made, and the Bread and Wine set apart, they proceeded to the Consecration of them, which is described in the *Constitutions*. First the

Deacon gave a solemn Admonition, saying, *ἄκουε, ἡ ἐκκλησία*, *Let us give Attention.* Then the Bishop or Priest saluted the Church, saying, *The Peace of God be with you all*, and the People answer'd, *And with thy Spirit.* After this, the Deacon said, *Salute ye one another with an holy Kiss.* Then the Clergy saluted the Bishop, the Laymen their Fellow-Laymen, and the Women the Women ; the Children standing before the *Bema*, i. e. either the Reading-Desk, or the Altar, with a Deacon attending them, to see they kept good Order : Other Deacons in the mean time walking about the Church to inspect the Men and Women ; and others standing at the Mens Gate, and the Subdeacons at the Womens, that the Doors should not be open'd in the Time of the Oblation. After this, the Subdeacon brought Water to the Priests, to wash their Hands, as a Sign of the Purity of those Souls that are consecrated to God. After this, the Deacon cried out, *Let none of the*

L. 8. c. 11. 1

## Book XV.

C. 12.

*Catechumens be present, none of the Hearers, none of the Unbelievers, none of the Heterodox Party. Ye that have made the first Prayer, go forth, ἀποέλ-  
δετε, (or rather, as Cotelerius thinks it ought to be  
read, προσέλδετε, draw near.) Ye Mothers, take  
your Children, and bring them with you. Let no  
one come with Enmity against another; no one in Hy-  
pocrisy. Let us stand upright before the Lord with  
Fear and Trembling, to offer our Sacrifice. This  
said, the Deacons brought the τα' δῶρα, the Ele-  
ments, to the Bishop at the Altar; the Presby-  
ters standing on each hand of him, and two Dea-  
cons with their Fans to drive away the little In-  
sects, that none of them might fall into the Cup.  
Then the Bishop, standing at the Altar with the  
Presbyters, made a private Prayer by himself, ha-  
ving on his white or bright Vestment, and sign-  
ing himself with the Sign of the Cross in his  
Forehead. Which done, he said, *The Grace of  
Almighty God, and the Love of our Lord Jesus  
Christ, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost be  
with you all: To which the People answer'd,  
And with thy Spirit. Then the Bishop said, Lift  
up your Hearts; and they all answer'd, We lift  
them up unto the Lord. The Bishop said again,  
Let us give thanks to the Lord; and the People  
answer'd, It is meet and right so to do.**

Then the Bishop proceeded, 'It is very meet  
'and right, above all things, to praise thee the  
'true God, who art before all Creatures, of  
'whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth  
'is named, who art the only Unbegotten, with-  
'out Original, without King, without Lord, who  
'hast need of nothing, who art the Author of  
'all Good, who art above all Cause and Genera-  
'tion, and always the same, of whom all things  
'have their Original and Existence. For thou  
'art original Knowledge, eternal Sight, Hearing  
'without Beginning, and Wisdom without Teach-  
'ing; the first in Nature, and the Law of exist-  
'ing, exceeding all Number: Who madest all  
'things to exist out of nothing by thy only-be-  
'gotten Son, whom thou didst beget before all  
'Ages

‘ Ages by thy Will, and Power, and Goodness,  
‘ without the Intervention of any ; who is thy  
‘ only-begotten Son, the Word that is God,  
‘ the living Wisdom, the First-born of every  
‘ Creature, the Angel of thy great Counsel, thy  
‘ High-Priest, but the King and Lord of all the  
‘ Creatures both visible and invisible, who is  
‘ before all things, and by whom all things con-  
‘ sist. For thou, O eternal God, didst create  
‘ all things by him, and by him thou dost vouch-  
‘ safe to rule and govern them in the orderly  
‘ Ways of thy Providence. By whom thou didst  
‘ give them Being, by him also thou didst give  
‘ them a Well-Being. O God and Father of thy  
‘ only-begotten Son, who by him didst create  
‘ the Cherubims and Seraphims, the Ages and  
‘ Hosts, the Dominions and Powers, the Princi-  
‘ palities and Thrones, the Archangels and An-  
‘ gels ; and after them didst by him create this  
‘ visible World, and all things that are therein.  
‘ For thou art he that hast established the Hea-  
‘ vens as an Arch, and extended them like a Cur-  
‘ tain ; that hast founded the Earth upon nothing,  
‘ by thy sole Will ; that hast fixed the Firmament,  
‘ and formed Night and Day ; that hast brought  
‘ the Light out of thy Treasures, and super-added  
‘ Darkness for a Covering, to give Rest to the  
‘ Creatures that move in the World ; that hast set  
‘ the Sun in the Heaven to govern the Day, and  
‘ the Moon to govern the Night ; and order’d the  
‘ Course of the Stars to the Praise of thy magni-  
‘ ficent Power ; that hast made the Water for  
‘ Drink and Purgation, and the vital Air both for  
‘ Breathing and Speaking ; that hast made the  
‘ Fire to be a Comfort in Darkness, to supply  
‘ our Wants, and that we should be both warm-  
‘ ed and enlighten’d thereby ; that hast divided  
‘ the great Sea from the Earth, and made the one  
‘ navigable, and the other passable on foot ; that  
‘ hast filled the one with small and great Animals,  
‘ and the other with tame and wild Beasts ; that  
‘ hast crowned the Earth with Plants and Herbs  
‘ of all sorts, and adorned it with Flowers, and



Book XV.

enriched it with Seeds; that hast established  
 the Deep, and set a great Barrier about it, walling  
 the great Heats of salt Water, and bounding  
 them with Gates of the smallest Sand; that  
 sometimes raisest the same Deep to the Magnitude  
 of Mountains by thy Winds, and sometimes layest  
 it plain like a Field; now making it rage with a  
 Storm, and then again quieting it with a Calm,  
 that they who sail therein may find a safe and gentle  
 Passage; that hast begirt the World, which  
 thou createdst by Christ, with Rivers, and water-  
 ed it with Brooks, and filled it with Springs of  
 living Waters always flowing, and bound up the  
 Earth with Mountains, to give it a firm and  
 unmoveable Situation. Thou hast filled thy  
 World, and adorned it with odoriferous and  
 medicinal Herbs, with a multitude and variety  
 of Animals, weaker and stronger, some for  
 Meat and some for Labour, some of a mild  
 and some of a fiercer Nature; with the Hissing  
 of Serpents, and sweeter Notes of Birds of di-  
 vers kinds; with the Revolutions of Years, and  
 Numbers of Months and Days, and Orders of  
 stated Seasons; with flying Clouds producing  
 Rain, for the Procreation of Fruits, and Pre-  
 servation of Animals; with Winds to blow in  
 Order at thy Command, and a multitude of  
 Plants and Herbs. Neither hast thou only  
 made the World, but created Man in it to  
 be Citizen of the World, and made him the  
 Ornament of thy beautiful Structure. For  
 thou saidst to thy own Wisdom, Let us make  
 Man in our own Image and Likeness, and let  
 them have Dominion over the Fish of the  
 Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air. And  
 therefore thou madest him of an immortal  
 Soul, and a dissolvable Body; creating the  
 one out of nothing, and the other out of the  
 four Elements: and gavest him in his Soul a  
 rational Knowledge, a Power to discern be-  
 tween Piety and Impiety, and a Judgment to  
 distinguish between good and evil; and in his  
 Body the Privilege and Faculty of five several  
 Senses,

' Senses, with the Power of local Motion. For  
 ' Thou, O God Almighty, didst by Christ plant  
 ' Paradise in *Eden* towards the *East*, adorning it  
 ' with all Kinds of Plants meet for Food, and  
 ' placing Man therein as in a well-furnished  
 ' House: And in his Creation thou gavest a natu-  
 ' ral Law implanted in his Mind, that thereby he  
 ' might have within himself the Seeds of divine  
 ' Knowledge. And when thou hadst placed him  
 ' in the Paradise of Delights and Pleasure, thou  
 ' gavest him Power to eat of all things, only for-  
 ' bidding him to taste of one Kind, in expecta-  
 ' tion of something better: That if he observed  
 ' that Command, he might attain to Immortali-  
 ' ty, as the Reward of his Obedience. But he  
 ' neglecting this Command, and by the Fraud of  
 ' the Serpent and the Counsel of the Woman  
 ' tasting the forbidden Fruit, thou didst justly  
 ' drive him out of Paradise; and yet in Good-  
 ' ness didst not despise him, when he had de-  
 ' stroyed himself; for he was thy Workman-  
 ' ship: But thou, who didst put the Creatures  
 ' in subjection under him, didst appoint him to  
 ' get his Food by Labour and Sweat, thy Provi-  
 ' dence concurring to produce, augment and  
 ' bring all things to Maturity and Perfection.  
 ' Thou didst suffer him for a while to sleep the  
 ' Sleep of Death, and then with an Oath calledst  
 ' him again to a Regeneration; dissolving the  
 ' Bands of Death, and promising him Life by a  
 ' Resurrection. And not only so; but giving  
 ' him an innumerable Posterity, thou didst glori-  
 ' fy such of them as adhered to thee, and pu-  
 ' nishedst those that apostatized from thee; re-  
 ' ceiving the Sacrifice of *Abel* as an holy Man,  
 ' and rejecting the Offering of *Cain* as abomina-  
 ' ble for murdering his Brother. Thou didst al-  
 ' so receive *Seth* and *Enos*, and translate *Enoch*.  
 ' For thou art the Creator of Men, and the Au-  
 ' thor of Life, and the Supplier of all their  
 ' Wants; their Lawgiver, that rewardest those  
 ' that keep thy Laws, and punishest those that  
 ' transgress them. Thou didst bring an universal

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Deluge upon the World because of the Multi-  
 tude of the ungodly, but deliveredst righteous  
*Noah* out of the Flood with eight Souls in thy  
 Ark, making him the End of the preceding Ge-  
 neration, and the Father of those that were to  
 come. Thou didst kindle a dreadful Fire a-  
 gainst the five Cities of the *Sodomites*, and turn  
 a fruitful Land into a Vale of Salt, for the  
 Wickedness of them that dwelt therein, but  
 didst deliver righteous *Lor* from the Burning.  
 Thou art he that didst deliver *Abraham* from  
 the Impiety of his Ancestors, and madest him  
 to become Heir of the World, and didst mani-  
 fest thy Christ unto him. Thou didst appoint  
*Melchisedech* to be the High Priest of thy Ser-  
 vice. Thou didst declare thy Servant *Job*, after  
 many Sufferings, to be Conqueror of the Ser-  
 pent, that first Author of Evil. Thou madest  
*Isaac* to be the Son of the Promise. Thou madest  
*Jacob* to be the Father of twelve Children, and  
 his Offspring to be innumerable; and broughtest  
 threescore and fifteen Souls into *Egypt*. Thou,  
 Lord, didst not despise *Joseph*, but for his Chas-  
 tity madest him to rule over the *Egyptians*.  
 Thou, Lord, didst not forget the *Hebrews*,  
 when the *Egyptians* oppressed them, because of  
 the Promise made to their Fathers; but didst  
 punish the *Egyptians*, and deliver thy People.  
 And when Men had corrupted the Law of Na-  
 ture written in their Minds, and some began  
 to think the Creatures had their Existence of  
 themselves, and honoured them above what  
 was meet, placing them in the same Rank with  
 thee the God of all; thou didst not suffer them  
 to wander in Error, but raising up thy holy  
 Servant *Moses*, thou didst by him promulge a  
 written Law to revive and support the Law of  
 Nature; shewing the Creatures to be the Work  
 of thy Hands, and thereby expelling the Error  
 of Polytheism out of Religion. Thou didst ho-  
 nour *Aaron* and his Posterity with the Dignity  
 of the Priesthood. Thou didst chastise the *He-  
 brews* when they sinned, and receive them into  
 favour,

‘ favour, when they turned unto thee. Thou  
 ‘ didst punish the *Egyptians* with ten Plagues ;  
 ‘ and dividing the Sea, madest the *Israelites* to  
 ‘ pass thro it, drowning the *Egyptians* that pur-  
 ‘ sued them. Thou madest the bitter Water  
 ‘ sweet with Wood ; thou broughtest Streams  
 ‘ out of the Rock, when thou hadst divided the  
 ‘ Top of it : Thou didst rain down Manna out  
 ‘ of Heaven, and give them Food out of the  
 ‘ Air, a Measure of Quails for every Day : set-  
 ‘ ting up a Pillar of Fire to give them Light by  
 ‘ Night, and the Pillar of the Cloud to shadow  
 ‘ them from Heat by Day. Thou didst consti-  
 ‘ tute *Joshua* the Captain of thy Armies, and by  
 ‘ him destroy the seven Nations of the *Canaa-*  
 ‘ *nites*, dividing *Jordan*, and drying up the Ri-  
 ‘ vers of *Ethan*, and laying flat the Walls (of  
 ‘ *Jericho*) without any Engines of War, or  
 ‘ Concurrence of human Power. For all these  
 ‘ things we glorify thee, O Lord Almighty.  
 ‘ The innumerable Armies of Angels adore thee ;  
 ‘ the Archangels, Thrones, Dominions, Princi-  
 ‘ palities, Dignities, Powers, Hosts and Ages ;  
 ‘ the Cherubims and Seraphims also with six  
 ‘ Wings, with two of which they cover their  
 ‘ Feet, and with two their Faces, and two fly,  
 ‘ saying, With thousand thousands of Archan-  
 ‘ gels, and ten thousand times ten thousand An-  
 ‘ gels, all crying out without rest and intermis-  
 ‘ sion. And let all the People say together with  
 ‘ them, ‘ Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Hosts :  
 ‘ Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory : Bless-  
 ‘ ed art thou for ever.

And after this let the Bishop say : ‘ For Thou  
 ‘ truly art Holy, the most Holy, the most High,  
 ‘ far exalted above all Things for evermore.  
 ‘ Holy also is thy only-begotten Son, our Lord  
 ‘ and God, *Jesus Christ* ; who ministring to  
 ‘ Thee his God and Father in all things, both in  
 ‘ various Works of Creation and Providence, did  
 ‘ not despise lost Mankind ; but after the Law  
 ‘ of Nature, after the Admonitions of the writ-  
 ‘ ten Law, after the Reprehensions of the Pro-  
 ‘ phets,



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phets, after the Administration and Presidency  
 of Angels; when Men had corrupted both the  
 natural and written Law, and erased the Me-  
 mory of the Flood, and the Burning of *Sodom*,  
 and the Plagues of *Egypt*, and Devastations  
 and Slaughters of *Palestine*, and were now all  
 ready to perish; He, who was the Creator of  
 Man, chose by thy Will to become Man; the  
 Lawgiver, to be under the Law; the High-  
 priest, to be the Sacrifice; the Shepherd, to be  
 made a Sheep: Whereby he appeased Thee  
 his God and Father, and reconciled the World,  
 and delivered all Men from the Wrath that  
 hanged over their Heads, being born of a Vir-  
 gin, and made Flesh, God the Word, the be-  
 loved Son, the first-born of every Creature;  
 according to the Prophecies which he himself  
 predicted of himself, made of the Seed of  
*David* and *Abraham*, and of the Tribe of *Ju-  
 dah*: He, who was the Former of all things  
 that are made, was formed himself in the Vir-  
 gin's Womb; he, who is without Flesh, was  
 made Flesh; and he, who was begotten, *ἀγεννητος*,  
 before all time, was born in Time: He lived an  
 holy Life, and taught an holy Doctrine; ex-  
 pelled all manner of Sickneses and Infirmities  
 from the Bodies of Men, and worked Signs and  
 Miracles among the People: He, who feeds  
 all that have need of Food, and fills every li-  
 ving Creature of his own good Pleasure and  
 Bounty, did himself partake of Meat and Drink  
 and Sleep; he manifested thy Name to them  
 that knew it not; he put Ignorance to flight,  
 and revived true Piety and Godliness, fulfilled  
 thy Will, and finished the Work which thou  
 gavest him to do. And when all things were  
 thus set in order and rectified by him, he was  
 betrayed by the incurable Malice of one of his  
 own Disciples, and apprehended by the hands  
 of the wicked Priests and High-priests, falsely so  
 called, together with a sinful People; of whom  
 he suffer'd many things, and underwent all  
 manner of Indignities by thy Permission; he  
 was

‘ was deliver’d to *Pilate* the Governour; the  
‘ Judge himself was judged; the Saviour of the  
‘ World condemned: He, who is impassible,  
‘ was nailed to the Cross; he, who is immortal  
‘ by Nature, was made subject to Death; and  
‘ the Author of Life, who quickens all things,  
‘ was laid in the Grave, that he might deliver  
‘ those from suffering, for whose sake he came,  
‘ and set them free from Death, and break the  
‘ Bonds of the Devil, and deliver Men from his  
‘ Frauds and Impostures. He rose again the third  
‘ Day from the Dead, and conversed forty Days  
‘ with his Disciples, and was taken up into Hea-  
‘ ven, and set at thy right Hand, his God and  
‘ Father.

‘ We therefore, in commemoration of these  
‘ Things which he suffered for us, give Thanks  
‘ to Thee, Almighty God, not as thou deservest,  
‘ and as is our Duty, but, *इदं इदं* *इदं*, as far as  
‘ we are able, so fulfilling his Command. For in  
‘ the same Night that he was betrayed, he took  
‘ Bread in his holy and immaculate Hands, and  
‘ looking up to Thee his God and Father, he  
‘ brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying,  
‘ This is the Mystery of the New Testament;  
‘ Take of it, and eat it; This is my Body, which  
‘ is broken for many for the Remission of Sins.  
‘ Likewise he mixed a Cup of Wine and Water,  
‘ and sanctifying it he gave it unto them, saying,  
‘ Drink ye all of this; for this is my Blood,  
‘ which is shed for many for the Remission of  
‘ Sins: This do in remembrance of me: For as  
‘ often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup,  
‘ ye do shew forth my Death till I come. We  
‘ therefore being mindful of his Passion, and  
‘ Death, and Resurrection from the Dead, and  
‘ his Return into Heaven; and also of his second  
‘ Coming, when he shall return with Glory and  
‘ Power to judge the quick and dead, and to ren-  
‘ der to every Man according to his Works, do  
‘ offer unto Thee, our King and God, this Bread  
‘ and this Cup, according to his Appointment,  
‘ giving Thanks to thee by him, for that thou  
‘ dost

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‘ dost vouchsafe to let us stand before Thee, and  
 ‘ minister unto Thee. And we beseech Thee to  
 ‘ look propitiouſly upon theſe Gifts here ſet be-  
 ‘ fore Thee, our God, who haſt need of nothing,  
 ‘ and to accept them favourably to the Honour of  
 ‘ thy Chriſt; and to ſend thy Holy Spirit upon  
 ‘ this Sacrifice, who is the Witneſs of the Suffer-  
 ‘ ing of our Lord Jeſus, that it may make this  
 ‘ Bread the Body of thy Chriſt, and this Cup  
 ‘ the Blood of thy Chriſt; that they who par-  
 ‘ take of it may be confirmed in Godlineſs, and  
 ‘ obtain Remiſſion of Sins, may be delivered  
 ‘ from the Devil and his Impoſtures, may be fil-  
 ‘ led with the Holy Ghoſt, and be made worthy  
 ‘ of Chriſt, and obtain Eternal Life, Thou be-  
 ‘ ing reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty.

‘ We beſeech Thee farther, O Lord, for thy  
 ‘ holy Church from one End of the Earth to the  
 ‘ other, which Thou haſt purchaſed with the  
 ‘ precious Blood of thy Chriſt, that thou wouldſt  
 ‘ be pleaſed to keep it unſhaken and immoveable  
 ‘ by any Storms or Tempeſts to the End of the  
 ‘ World. We pray alſo for the whole Episcopacy  
 ‘ (or univerſal College of Biſhops) rightly  
 ‘ dividing the Word of Truth. We pray for  
 ‘ me thy unworthy Servant, who am now offer-  
 ‘ ing unto thee, and for the whole Presbytery,  
 ‘ and Deacons, and all the Clergy, that thou  
 ‘ wouldſt give them all Wiſdom, and fill them  
 ‘ with thy holy Spirit. We pray thee, O Lord,  
 ‘ for the King and all that are in Authority, and  
 ‘ for the whole Army, that our Affairs may be  
 ‘ tranſacted in Peace; that paſſing our Time in  
 ‘ Quietneſs and Concord, we may glorify thee  
 ‘ thro Jeſus Chriſt our Hope all the Days of our  
 ‘ Life. We offer unto thee for all thy Saints,  
 ‘ that have lived well-pleaſing in thy ſight from  
 ‘ the Foundation of the World, for Patriarchs,  
 ‘ Prophets, holy Men, Apoſtles, Martyrs, Bi-  
 ‘ ſhops, Confessors, Presbyters, Deacons, Sub-  
 ‘ deacons, Readers, Singers, Virgins, Widows,  
 ‘ Laymen, and all whoſe Names thou knoweſt.  
 ‘ We offer unto thee for this People, that thou  
 ‘ wouldſt

wouldst make them, to the Glory of thy Christ, a royal Priesthood, and an holy Nation ; for all that live in Virginity and Chastity ; for the Widows of the Church ; for all that live in honest Marriage and Procreation of Children ; for the Infants of thy People, that none of us be a Cast-away. We pray thee for this City, and all that dwell therein ; for those that are in Sicknes, in cruel Bondage and Slavery, in Banishment, or under Confiscation and Proscription, for all that travel by Sea or Land, that thou wouldst be their Succour, and an universal Helper and Defender to them all. We pray thee for those that hate us, and persecute us for thy Name, for them that are yet without and wandring in Error, that thou wouldst convert them to good, and mitigate their Fury. We pray thee for the Catechumens of the Church ; for the Energumens, that are tossed and tormented by the Adversary the Devil ; for all our Brethren that are doing Penance : that thou wouldst perfect the former in Faith, and cleanse and deliver the second from the Power and Agitation of the wicked one, and receive the Repentance of the last, and pardon both them and us whatever Offences we have committed against thee. We offer unto thee likewise for the Temperature of the Air, and the Increase of the Fruits of the Earth, that we continually partaking of those good things which thou bestowest on us, may without ceasing praise thee, who givest Food unto all Flesh. We also pray for those, who upon any just and reasonable cause are now absent ; that thou wouldst vouchsafe to preserve us all in Godliness, and keeping us without Change, Blame, or Rebuke, to gather us into the Kingdom of thy Christ, the God of all things in Nature, visible and invisible, and our King. For to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is due all Glory, and Worship, and Thanksgiving, and Honour, and Adoration, now and for ever, throughout all Ages, World without



Book XV. ' without End. ' And let all the People answer;  
*Amen.*

L. 8. c. 13.

After this the Bishop is appointed to say again,  
*The Peace of God be with you all: To which the*  
*People answer, And with thy Spirit.* And then  
the Deacon calls upon the People to join with  
him in another Prayer, which is termed *προση-*  
*μος, &c.* A Bidding Prayer for the Faithful after  
the Divine Oblation, in these Words : ' Let us  
' pray yet again and again to God by his Christ,  
' for this Gift which is offered to the Lord God;  
' that the good God would receive it to his Altar  
' in Heaven for a sweet-smelling Savour by the  
' Mediation of his Christ. Let us pray for this  
' Church and People ; for the whole Society of  
' Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, and  
' Ministers, and the whole Catholick Church ;  
' that the Lord would keep and preserve them  
' all. Let us pray for Kings and all that are in  
' Authority ; that our Affairs may go on with  
' Tranquillity, and that we may lead a quiet and  
' peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty.  
' Let us commemorate the holy Martyrs, that  
' we may be thought worthy to have Fellowship  
' in their Conflicts and Engagements. Let us  
' pray for those that rest in Faith. Let us pray  
' for the Temperature of the Air, and Increase  
' of the Fruits of the Earth, that they may grow  
' to Perfection. Let us pray for those that are  
' newly baptized, that they may be confirmed in  
' Faith. Let us all exhort and excite one ano-  
' ther. Let us rise and commend our selves to  
' God by his Grace. ' Then let the Bishop say :  
' O God, that art Great, great in Name, great  
' in Counsel, and mighty in Works ; the God  
' and Father of thy holy Son Jesus our Saviour ;  
' look favourably upon us and this thy Flock,  
' which thou hast chosen in him to the Glory of  
' thy Name. Sanctify our Bodies and Souls ;  
' and grant, that we being pure from all Filthi-  
' ness of Flesh and Spirit, may obtain the good  
' Things that are set before us ; and that thou  
' mayst judge none of us unworthy, but be our  
' Helper,

‘ Helper, Defender and Protector, through thy  
‘ Christ ; to whom with Thee and the Holy Spi-  
‘ rit, be Glory, Honour and Praise, Doxology  
‘ and Thanksgiving for ever, *Amen*.

Here when all the People had said *Amen*, the Deacon cried again *πρόσχωμεν*, Let us give Attention. Then it was order'd that the Bishop should speak to the People saying, *τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, *Holy things for those that are holy* ; to which the People answered, *There is one Holy, one Lord, one Jesus Christ, to the Glory of God the Father, Blessed for ever, Amen. Glory be to God on high, and in Earth Peace, good Will towards Men. Hosanna to the Son of David : Blessed be the Lord God, that came in the Name of the Lord, and manifested himself unto us : Hosanna in the highest.* And this is the whole Service preceding the Act of Communicating, as it is delivered in the *Constitutions*, which we shall compare with the certain Accounts we have of the several Parts of it in other authentick Writers, beginning with that which was first in order, the Minister's Salutation of the People.

That this Form of saluting the People, by saying *Peace be with you*, or *The Lord be with you*, or *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. be with you*, was the usual Preface to all holy Offices, and to this among others ; is evident from *Theodoret*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, and *St. Chrysostom*, who speaks more fully than the rest : for he says, they used it when they came into the Church, when they preached, when they gave the Benediction, when they commanded the People to salute one another with the Kiss of Peace, when the Sacrifice was offer'd, and at other times in the Communion-Service. And again : There is nothing at all said or done without this ; meaning this Form of Salutation. The same Custom was also used in the *Latin Church*, as may be observed from *Tertullian*, when he objects it to the Hereticks, that they gave the Peace to all without exception ; implying that the Church used it, but with some Distinction. The first Council of

Hom. 3 in Col.

Hom. 52.

De Praefat. c. 47.

Can. 21.

*Braga*

**Book XV.** *Braga* order'd that both Bishops and Presbyters should use, *The Lord be with you*; and that the People should answer, *And with thy Spirit*: whence it is plain that the *Spanish Church* had a like Form, tho not altogether the same; and also that the People had the liberty of bearing a part in the Service, which is now denied them by the Church of *Rome*.

That the Custom of giving the Kiss of Peace immediately after the Salutation was among the Antients, is evident from a Council of *Laodicea*, by a Canon of which it is order'd. This, *Cyril of Jerusalem* says, was a Symbol of Reconciliation, and forgiving all Injuries whatsoever. St. *Chrysostom* says it was used before the Oblation, when the Sacrifice was about to be offered: which agrees exactly with the Time specified in the *Constitutions*. The same is noted long before by *Justin Martyr*, that it was between the common Prayers for the whole State of Christ's Church, and the Prayers of the Consecration. In the *Latin Church* the same Custom was observed, only with this Difference, that it came after the Consecration and the Lord's Prayer, and just before the Distribution. And thus St. *Austin* describes it in the Order of the Service. Pope *Innocent* also says the same, and blames those that gave it before, and says it ought to come after, as a Testimony of their Consent to all that was done, and as a Seal of the Consecration Prayer, to signify that all was ended. *Tertullian* calls it *Signaculum Orationis*, the Seal of their Prayers, as being in his Time when all the Prayers of Consecration were ended; and he intimates also as if it was given without distinction between Men and Women: but however it is certain that was not the Custom in the *Greek Church*. But *Tertullian* also observes that some made a Scruple of giving the Kiss of Peace upon a Fast-day; tho he blames them for it: asserting that it was the Seal of Prayer, and that the Omission of it would discover them to be fasting; whereas Fasts ought always to be concealed. He allows Men indeed

to omit this Ceremony at home, where their Fasting could not be concealed; but in other Places where they might conceal the Action, they were to observe the Discipline of the Church. As to publick Fasts, the Case was otherwise: For by the Laws of the Church this Ceremony was to be omitted, as on the Day of our Saviour's Passion; which appears from *Tertullian* and others: Whence it seems to have been an universal Exception in the Church.

The Ceremony of the Priest's washing his Hands before Consecration is observed by *Cyril of Jerusalem*, as a Symbol that he ought to be pure from Sin and Transgressions of the Law. The Author of the *Questions* under the Name of *St. Austin*, seems to make it a Custom in all Churches, only with this Difference, that whereas in other Churches it was the Deacon's Office to bring the Water to the Priests, the Subdeacons did it in the *Roman Church*, because there was a multitude of inferior Clergy in that Church above many others.

The next Circumstance observed in the *Constitutions*, is the Deacon's Proclamation for all Non-Communicants to depart, and to admonish others to approach in Charity, &c. which is suggested by *Chrysostom* and *Severianus Bishop of Gabala*: From both which it is plain these Admonitions of the Deacon were here repeated as preparatory to the Oblation.

The Circumstance of the *peridia*, or Fans to drive away Insects, is so minute, it is no great wonder it should be omitted in most other Writers beside the *Constitutions*. *Bona* says they are mentioned in *Jobius* and some others. But *Suicerus* thinks the Word *peridia* in those Writers signifies a Basket, or the like, in which they used to carry the sacred Elements to and from the Altar; and indeed in *Herodotus* the Word *peridion* has that Meaning, according to some Lexicographers. But in the Liturgies of *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Basil* it is used for a Fan. The Liturgy of *St. Chrysostom* says the Deacon is to blow over the



Book XV. Elements with a Fan; or if there be no Fan; then to do it with the Covering of the Cup. And St. Basil's Liturgy mentions the same Utensils for the same purpose.

Demonst. c. 9.  
Hou. 118. in Job.

As for the Use of the Sign of the Cross before the Consecration of the Elements, it is expressly mentioned by *Chrysostom*; and St. *Austin* says it was used in all their Offices, in Baptism, Confirmation, and the *Eucharist*; without which none of them were solemnly performed.

De Orat.

Next after this, and before the great Thanksgiving, the Priest says, *The Grace of, &c. be with you*; when the People answering, *And with thy Spirit*, the Priest goes on, and says, *Lift up your Hearts*, to which the People answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*. Then the Priest says again, *Let us give Thanks to the Lord*, and the People answer, *It is meet and right so to do*. This St. *Cyprian* calls the Preface to prepare the Mind for Prayer; and it is mentioned by almost all Ecclesiastical Writers that have said any thing of the *Eucharist*. St. *Austin* mentions it at least ten times: The *Sursum Corda*, he says, was used thro the World. And St. *Chrysostom* is another corroborating Evidence of this Practice. In the old *Gallican* Liturgy the Answers to these Prefaces are called *Contestatio*, because by them the People gave in their Attestation or Testimony of their Compliance with the Priest's Exhortation, declaring their Assent, that it was meet and right to praise the Lord.

St. James's,  
Chryl. Basil.

Apol. 2.

After these came the great Thanksgiving, upon which a solemn Glorification of God was framed, always including the *Trisagion*, or *Seraphical Hymn*, *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Hosts, &c.* which was sung by the People jointly; and then the Minister went on alone to finish the solemn Thanksgiving. We have no where else indeed so long a Thanksgiving as that in the *Constitutions*. But the Substance of it is not only in several ancient Liturgies, but in more authentick Writings. *Justin Martyr* says, As soon as the Common Prayers were ended, and they had saluted one another with a Kiss, Bread, and Wine, and Water were

were brought to the President; who receiving them, gave Praise and Glory to the Father of all things by the Son and Holy Spirit, and made *ευχαριστιαν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*, a long Thanksgiving for the Blessings which he vouchsafed to bestow upon them; and when he had ended, all the People cried, *Amen*. *Irenæus* speaks much to the same purpose; and also *Origen*. But *Cyril of Jerusalem* more particularly specifies the Substance of this Thanksgiving, saying after this, *i. e.* after we have said, *Let us give Thanks to the Lord*, and, *It is meet and right so to do*, we make mention of the Heaven, and Earth, and Sea, and the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and all the Creatures rational and irrational, visible and invisible, Angels, Archangels, Hosts and Dominions, Principalities and Powers, Thrones and Cherubims covering their Faces, saying with *David*, *Magnify the Lord with me*. We also make mention of the Cherubims, which *Esaïas* saw in the Spirit standing about the Throne of God, and with two Wings covering their Faces, and with two their Feet, and flying with two, and saying, *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Hosts*. This is much the same with the Thanksgiving in the Liturgy of *St. James* used at *Jerusalem* in this Form. It is very meet and right, becoming us, and our Duty, that we should praise thee, and celebrate thee with Hymns, and give Thanks unto thee, the Maker of all Creatures, visible and invisible, the Treasure of all Good, the Fountain of Life and Immortality, the God and Lord of all things, whom the Heavens, and the Heaven of Heavens praise, and all the Host of them; the Sun and Moon, and the whole Company of Stars, the Earth, and Sea, and all that are in them; the Celestial Congregation of *Jerusalem*, the Church of the First-born, who are written in Heaven, the Spirits of just Men and Prophets, the Souls of Martyrs and Apostles; Angels and Archangels, Thrones and Dominions, Principalities and Powers, the tremendous Hosts and Cherubims with many Eyes, and Seraphims with six Wings, with two where-

L. 4. c. 34.

Cont. Cels. l. 8.

Car. Myst. 5. n. 5.

Bibl. Patr. c. 2.

Book XV. of they cover their Faces, and with two their Feet, and with two they fly, crying out incessantly one to another, and linging with loud Voices the triumphal Song of the Magnificence of thy Glory, *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest.*

Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. St. Chrysostom also speaks of this Thanksgiving, tho he does not give us the whole of it, but only the Introduction, saying, the Prayer of Thankgiving is common both to the Priest and People.

De Fide ad Pet.

c. 19.

De Sacram. l. 4.

c. 4.

This previous giving of Thanks is also mentioned among the *Latins* by *Fulgentius* and St. *Ambrose*. From all which it is evident that the Consecration of the Sacrament was usher'd in with a solemn Thanksgiving to God, from whence the whole Action had the Name of *Eucharistia*, the *Eucharist*, or Thanksgiving, because this was always premised as a necessary Part of the sacred Mystery; and the whole Action and Ceremony with another Thanksgiving after communicating, as we shall see hereafter.

That the *Trisagion* or *Epinicion*, the Seraphical and Triumphal Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.* was Part of this Thanksgiving, is evident not only from the forementioned Places of St. *Cyril* and St. *Chrysostom*, but from other Places of the latter, where he gives a more particular Account of the Use of it at the Lord's Table. To these Testimonies we may also add that of *Severianus* of *Gabala* for the *Greek Church*, and the Council of *Vaison* for the *Latin*, which says, that in all Communion Services, whether they were Morning Services, or Quadragesimal, or Commemorations for the Dead, this Hymn should be used.

Next after this, there follows in the *Constitutions* a particular Enumeration of God's Mercies to Mankind, and a Thanksgiving with respect to them; wherein is contained a sort of a *Creed*, or *Summary* of the Christian Faith: Which was all the Creed that the Church in that Age made use of in that Service. For as yet the Repetition of the

Bap.

Baptismal Creed was no part of the Communion-Service, but only such Doctrines were related as were the Subject of a particular Thanksgiving for the great Mysteries of the Incarnation and Redemption. Thus it is represented in the *Constitutions*, with which *St. Chrysostom* exactly agrees, Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. where he says, in offering the Cup, we recite the ineffable Mercies and Kindness of God, and all the good things we enjoy; and so we offer it and communicate; giving him Thanks for that he hath deliver'd Mankind from Error; that he hath made us near who were afar off; that when we were without Hope, and without God in the World, he hath made us the Brethren of Christ, and Fellow-Heirs with him. For these and all the like Blessings we give him Thanks, and so come to his Holy Table.

Here came the Consecration, which antiently was a Repetition of the History of the Institution, with Prayers to God, That he would send his Holy Spirit upon the Gifts, and make them become the Body and Blood of *Christ*, not by altering their Nature and Substance, but their Qualities and Powers; and exalting them from simple Elements to become Types and Symbols of *Christ's* Flesh and Blood, and efficacious Instruments of conveying to worthy Receivers all the Benefits of his Death and Passion. This is evident from the Form before recited in the *Constitutions*; and for this there is the concurrent Testimony of all Antiquity. *Justin Martyr* says Apol. 2. the Consecration consisted in Thanksgiving and Prayers, at the end of which the People said, *Amen.* *Irenaus* and *Cyril of Jerusalem* say the Consecration was made by the Invocation of God, L. 4. c. 34 Cat. Myst. 3. n. 3 and then the Bread was no longer common Bread, but the *Eucharist*; or the Body of *Christ*, according to *Cyril*. The same is implied by *Basil*, when Bas. de Spir. Sanc. c. 27. he asks, Which of the Saints have left us in writing the Words of the Invocation by which the Bread of the *Eucharist*, and the Cup of Blessing is consecrated? And of this also *Gregory Nyssen*, *Theophilus of Alexandria*, and *Theodore* are concurring



Book XV. curring Evidences in the *Greek Church*. And the *Latin Fathers*, St. *Ambrose*, *Opratus*, and St. *Jerom*, are very plain in their Verdict, that the Consecration was not made without Prayer. St. *Ambrose* gives us the Form of Words: 'Make this Oblation a chosen, rational, acceptable Oblation, which is the Figure of the Body and Blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ*.' *Juvenus* says, *Gregory the Great* thinks, that our Saviour and the Apostles used only the Lord's Prayer upon this occasion; and St. *Cyprian* seems to have had the same Opinion: for he thinks that Petition, *Give us this Day our daily Bread*, may be understood in a spiritual as well as a common Sense, to denote the Body of Christ, which is our Bread, that we pray may be given us every day. A great many other Fathers speak of the Benediction, or Thanksgiving, as that which consecrates the *Eucharist*; which is not much different from this: for the Thanksgiving was always a Part of the Eucharistical Prayers, and therefore they are both joined together by some antient Writers.

In the Liturgy under the Name of St. *Chrysostom*, there is another Form of Consecration in these Words: 'We offer unto thee this rational and unbloody Sacrifice, beseeching thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon us and these Gifts: Make the Bread the precious Body of thy Christ, and that which is in the Cup the precious Blood of thy Christ; transmuting them by thy Holy Spirit, that they may be to the Receivers for the Washing of their Souls, for Pardon of Sins, for Participation of the Holy Ghost, for obtaining the Kingdom of Heaven, for Boldness towards thee, and not for Judgment and Condemnation.' This, tho' it is not the same with the Form in the *Constitutions*, yet it agrees in this, that the *Constitutions* make such like Petitions for Confirmation, &c. to be a great part of the Consecration Prayer.

That the Consecration Prayer was followed by the Prayer for the whole Catholick Church, appears both from St. *Chrysostom* and *Cyril of Jerusalem*;

De Sacram. l. 4.  
c. 5.

Hist. Evan. l. 4.

L. 7. Ep. 63.

De Orat.

Hom. 52.  
Car. Myst. 5. n. 6.

*salem*; for they say, that when the Sacrifice was offer'd, they besought God for the Catholick Church thro the whole World. And *Vigilius*, in a Letter to *Justinian*, reminds him, how it was customary from antient Tradition for all Bishops, in offering the Sacrifice, to beseech God to unite all Men in the Catholick Faith, and to protect and keep it throughout the World. Nay, *Optatus* L. 2. says the *Donatists* themselves used this Prayer upon this Occasion, tho their Practice were the very reverse of it.

Chap. 3.

Ep. 4. ad Justin.

Here they again repeated their Prayers for the Bishops and Clergy of the Catholick Church, and of that to which they belonged: Which is noted not only in the *Constitutions*, but also by *Epiphanius* and *St. Chrysostom*; the last of which in particular observes, That in the Prayers of the Faithful, they were commanded to pray for Bishops, Presbyters, Kings, and all in Authority; for the Earth and Sea, for the Temperature of the Air, or good Weather, and for the whole World.

Hom. 2. in 2 Cor.

That the Antients pray'd for Kings and Magistrates also in the Oblation Prayer, is evident from *Eusebius*, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, *St. Chrysostom*, and *Arnobius*; the last of whom expressly says, they prayed at once for the Magistrates, for their Armies, for Kings, for their Friends, for their Enemies, for the *Living*, and for the *Dead*. Where his mentioning the *Dead*, plainly shews, that he speaks of those Prayers which were made after the *Eucharist* was consecrated, in which, we shall see by and by, a particular Commemoration was made of all those that were departed in the Faith.

Arnob. 1. 4.

That it was the general Practice of the Church to pray for the *Dead*, appears not only from the *Constitutions* and *Arnobius*, but from the concurrent Testimony of all the Writers of the Church. *Ter tullian*, who lived long before *Arnobius*, speaks of Oblations for the *Dead*: He says, every Woman pray'd for the Soul of her deceased Husband, that he might find Rest and Refreshment at present, and a Part in the first Resurrection; and offered an annual Oblation for him on the Day of his

De Coron. mil.  
c. 3.

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Ep. 37. ad Cler.

Cat. Myft. s. n. 6.

Her. 75.

De Præd. l. 2.  
c. 34.

Death : and the Husband did the same for his Wife, as he says. For the Martyrs, they offer'd the Oblation of Prayer, and of Praise, and Thanksgiving ; for others Praises chiefly, according to *Cyprian*. The Author under the Name of *Origen*, upon *Job*, and *Origen* himself, speak to the same purpose. *Cyril of Jerusalem* says they offer'd this Sacrifice in memory of the Patriarchs, &c. that God by their Prayers and Intercessions might receive their Supplications ; that they prayed for their holy Fathers and Bishops departed, believing it to be a considerable Advantage to their Souls to be prayed for, whilst the holy and tremendous Sacrifice was upon the Altar. *Epiphanius* gives several Reasons for this Custom of mentioning the Names of the Dead : Because it was an Argument that they were still in Being, and living with the Lord ; because it was some Advantage to Sinners, tho it did not wholly cancel their Crimes ; because it put a Distinction between the Perfection of *Christ*, and the Imperfection of all other Men. And it appears from all the antient Liturgies under the Names of *St. Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Cyril*, that they pray'd for all Saints, not excepting the Virgin *Mary* herself. And it is remarkable that in the old *Roman Missal* they were used to pray for the Soul of *St. Leo*, as *Hincmar*, a Writer of the ninth Age, informs us, who says the Prayer ran in this Form : ' Grant, O Lord, that this Oblation may be of Advantage to the Soul of thy Servant *Leo*, which thou hast appointed to be for the Relaxation of the Sins of the whole World.' But this was thought so incongruous in the following Ages, that in the later Missals it was changed into this Form : ' Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, that this Oblation may be of Advantage to us, by the Intercession of *St. Leo* ;' as Pope *Innocent the Third* assures us it was in his time. Not to mention some other Alterations which have been made of the like nature, *St. Chrysostom* says expressly they offer'd for the Martyrs. And so it is in his *Greek Liturgy* : ' We offer unto thee this  
' rea-

reasonable Service for the Faithful deceased, our Forefathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, religious Persons, and every Spirit perfected in the Faith; but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed Lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin *Mary*. This he says not only in the forementioned Places, but he speaks to the same purpose in many others. From all which it is evident, that Prayers were made for all Persons in general that died in the Faith, except such Catechumens as died in a wilful Neglect of Baptism; which seems to have been a settled Rule of the Church from some antient Canons before mentioned. *Cassian* says, that the *Biothanati*, or Self-Murderers, were also excluded this Benefit; which is noted by the Council of *Braga*, where Self-Murderers and Catechumens are put into the same Class.

See Chryf. Hom. 41. in 1 Cor. Hom. 3. in Philip. Hom. 24. in Joh. &c.

Book 10. c. 11.

Can. 35.

*St. Austin* indeed had a singular Opinion in this Matter about praying for the Dead. He thought that Martyrs were not to be pray'd for, because that having attained Perfection in this Life, they had no need of the Prayers of the Church; and therefore it was an Injury to the Martyrs to pray for them. Upon this account he says, when they named Martyrs at the Altar, and celebrated their Memorials, they did not commemorate them as Persons for whom they prayed, as they did all others that rested in Peace, but rather as Men that prayed for the Church on Earth, that we might follow their Steps, who had attained to the Perfection of Charity in laying down their Lives for *Christ*. And for this reason he thought the Oblations and Alms that were usually offer'd in the Church for all the Dead that had received Baptism, were only Thanksgivings for such as were very good, and Propitiations for those that were not very bad; and for such as had been very evil, tho they were no Helps to them when they were dead, yet they were some Consolation to the Living. But this, as Bishop *Usher* observes, was but a harsh Interpretation of the Prayers of the Church,

Ser. 17. de Ver. Apost.

Trac. 84. in Joh.

Enchir. ap. Laur. 110.

Usher's Answer to the Challenge.



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to imagine that one and the same Act of Praying should be a Petition for some, and for others a Thanksgiving only. And therefore it is more reasonable to suppose that the Church designed to pray for all; as is plain from all the antient Forms of Prayer of this nature.

It remains therefore to be enquired, upon what Grounds the Church observed this Custom: Whether upon the modern Supposition of a *Purgatory-Fire*, or upon other Reasons more agreeable to such a general Practice. That she did not do it upon the Supposition of *Purgatory*, appears evidently from what has been observed already out of the publick Offices of the Church, that she prayed for all Saints, &c. who were supposed to be in a Place of rest, and not of Purgation or Torment. And this appears farther from the private Prayers made by St. *Ambrose* for the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, and *Gratian*, and his own Brother *Saturus*, and the Directions he gives to *Faustinus* not to weep for his Sister, but to make Prayers and Oblations for her; for all these were Persons of whom he had not the least doubt, but that their Souls were in Rest and Happiness: As all the Funeral-Service supposes, where they sing, *Return then unto thy Rest, O my Soul; for the Lord hath rewarded thee*: And again, *I will fear no Evil, because thou art with me*: And again, *Thou art my Refuge from the Affliction that compasseth me about*; which St. *Chrysostom* bids all Mourners remember, and thank God for taking their Friends to a Place of Rest and Security. This is inconsistent with their going into the Pains of *Purgatory*. St. *Austin* both pray'd in private for his Mother *Monica*, and also speaks of the Church's Prayers for her at her Funeral, and afterward at the Altar; yet he made no question of her future Happiness. In like manner *Gregory Nazianzen* prays for his Brother *Casarius*.

The Reasons upon which the Antients grounded this Custom, were several:

1. They supposed that they were going to a Place of Rest and Happiness; and therefore they prayed

De Obitu Theod.  
Valent. &c.

Hom. 4. in Heb.

Conf. l. 9. c. 12,  
13.

Orat. 10.

prayed that God would receive them to himself, and deliver them from Condemnation.

2. Upon the same Presumption, some of their Prayers for the Dead were always Eucharistical, or Thanksgivings for their Deliverance.

3. They conceived all Men to die with some Remainders of Frailty and Corruption, and therefore they desired that God would deal with them according to his Mercy, and not their Merits: For no one was then thought to have any real Merit, or Title to eternal Happiness, but only upon God's Promises and Mercy. St. *Austin* is very excellent upon this Point, in the Case of his Mother *Monica*: 'I now pour out unto thee, my God, another sort of Tears for thy Handmaid, flowing from a trembling Spirit, in consideration of the Danger that every Soul is in that dies in *Adam*. For altho she was made alive in Christ, and lived so in the Days of her Flesh, as to bring Glory to thy Name by her Faith and Practice; yet I dare not say, that from the time she was regenerated by Baptism, no Word came out of her Mouth against thy Command. And thou hast told us by him who is Truth it self, that *whosoever shall say to his Brother, Thou Fool, shall be in danger of Hell-Fire*. And wo to the most laudable Life of Man, if thou shouldst sift and examine it without Mercy. But because thou art not extreme to mark what is done amiss, we have Hope and Confidence to find some Place and Room for Indulgence with thee. But whoever reckons up his true Merit before thee, what does he more than recount thy own Gifts? O that all Men would know themselves, and they that glory, glory in the Lord! I therefore, O my Praise and my Life, the God of my Heart, setting aside a little her good Actions, for which I joyfully give thee Thanks, now make Intercession for the Sins of my Mother. Hear me thro the Medicine of his Wounds who hanged upon the Tree, and now sitteth at thy Right Hand to make Intercession for us.' He adds a little after, that he

Book XV. believed that God had granted him what he asked; yet he prays on, 'That the Lion and the Dragon might not interpose himself, either by his open Violence or Subtlety. For she would not answer, That she was no Debtor, lest the crafty Adversary should convict her, and lay hold of her; but she would answer, That her Sins were forgiven her by him, to whom no Man can return what he gave us without any Obligation. Let her therefore rest in Peace with her Husband: And do thou, my Lord God, inspire all those thy Servants that read this, to remember thy Handmaid *Monica* at thy Altar, with *Patri-cius* her Consort.'

Her. 75.

4. A fourth Reason was what we have heard before out of *Epiphanius*: To put a Distinction between the Perfection of Christ, and the Imperfection of all other Men, Saints, &c. he being the only Person for whom Prayer was not then made in the Church.

5. They prayed for all Christians, as a Testimony of their Respect and Love to the Dead, and of their own Belief of the Soul's Immortality.

6. Because the Soul is but in an imperfect State of Happiness till the Resurrection, when the whole Man shall have a compleat Victory over Death, and be established in an endless State of consummate Happiness and Glory.

But besides these, they had some particular Opinions, which tended to promote this Practice.

1. A great many of the Antients believed; That the Souls of all the Righteous, except Martyrs, were sequestred out of Heaven, in some Place invisible to mortal Eye, which they called *Hades*, or *Paradise*, or *Abraham's Bosom*; a Place of Refreshment and Joy, where they expected a compleater Happiness at the End of all things. This is the known Opinion of *Hermes Pastor*, *Justin Martyr*, *Pope Pius*, *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Caius Romanus*, *Victorinus Martyr*, *Novatian*, *Lactantius*, *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Prudentius*, *Austin*, and *Chrysostom*: and therefore in praying for the Dead, they might have some Reference to this.

2. Many



De Anim. c. 58.

Orig. Iren. Laet. Amb. &c.

Bona & Shel-  
strace.

2. Many of the Antients held the Opinion of the *Millennium*, or the Reign of *Christ*, a thousand Years upon Earth, before the Day of Judgment; and they supposed likewise that some Men should rise sooner than others to this happy State. *Tertulian* plainly refers to this, when he says, Every little Offence is to be punish'd by delaying Mens Resurrection: And therefore he says, They were wont to pray for the Souls of the Deceased. For this Reason St. *Ambrose* pray'd for *Gratian* and *Valentinian*; and Bishop *Usher* shews out of some *Gothick Missals*, that the Church had antiently several Prayers directed to this very purpose.

3. Many of the Antients believed, there would be a Fire of Probation, thro which all must pass, even the Virgin *Mary* herself not excepted.

4. Some of them thought that the Prayers of the Church were of some Use to mitigate the Pains of the damned Souls, tho not effectual to their total Deliverance.

And lastly, That they served to augment the Glory of the Saints in Happiness.

Some time before they made the Oblation for the Dead, it was usual in some Ages to recite the Names of such eminent Bishops, or Saints, or Martyrs, as were particularly to be mentioned in this Part of the Service: For which purpose they had their Books, which they called their *Diptychs*, wherein the Names of such Persons were written, that the Deacon might rehearse them. Some Authors say there were three sorts of these: One containing only the Names of Bishops, and more particularly such as had belonged to that particular Church. A second, wherein the Names of the Living were written who were eminent for any Office or Dignity, Benefaction or good Work. The third contained the Names of such as were deceased in the Catholick Communion. The first and last of these seem to be much the same; and the other having been spoken of before, the Consideration of those is only proper to this Place. The *Constitutions* make no mention at all of them; which argues that the

Use



## Book XV.

L. 5. c. 34.

Ecc. Hier. c. 3.

Conc. Conf. sub  
Men. an. 536.Cod. Just. l. 1.  
tit. 1.

Use of them was of a later Date. But *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* speak of them under another Name. And *Theodoret* mentions them in the Case of *St. Chrysostom*, whose Name was left out of the *Diptychs* for some time, because he died excommunicate (tho unjustly) by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and other *Eastern* Bishops, with whom the *Western* Church would never communicate, till they had restored his Name to the *Diptychs* again. *Dionysius* says, the *Diptychs* for the Dead were read after the Kiss of Peace; and so it is in the Acts of the Council of *Constantinople* under *Mennas*, which makes frequent mention of them, and in one Place particularly notes the time of reading them, viz. after the *Gospel* and the *Creed*; for the *Creed* was then become a part of the Communion-Service in the *Eastern* Church. In the Recital of these *Diptychs*, when the Deacon had named the four Holy Synods, and the Archbishops of blessed Memory, *Euphemius*, *Macedonius*, and *Leo*, they all cried out with a loud Voice, *Glory be to thee, O Lord*; and after that the Divine Service was performed with great Tranquillity. Hence it is observable, that this Recital was before the Consecration Prayer, as *Dionysius* represents it (tho it seems to have been otherwise in the *Latin* Church) and that it was usual to mention the four first General Councils, to shew their Approbation of them. Which is also evident from a Letter of *Justinian* to *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, now extant in the Code; wherein he assures him, That it was in vain for any one to trouble him upon any false Hopes, as if he had done, or ever would do, or suffer any other to do, any thing contrary to the four Councils, or allow the pious Memory of them to be erased out of the *Diptychs* of the Church. The Use therefore of these *Diptychs* was to preserve the Memory of eminent *Christians*, and to make an honourable mention of such General Councils as had established the chief Articles of Faith: and to

erase

erase the Names of Men or Councils out of them, was the same as to declare them heterodox.

Chap. 3.

Next after the Prayer for the Dead, according to the *Constitutions*, Supplication is made for the living Members of that particular Church then assembled, and every distinct Order of Persons in it. St. *Austin* likewise speaks of these Prayers at the Altar for the Faithful, that they by the Gift of God may persevere in that they have begun. St. *Chrysostom* also says, it is a Bishop's business to pray for a whole City, and not for that only, but for the whole World, That God would be merciful to the Sins of the Living and the Dead. And what makes it more probable, the Prayers of this kind in *Chrysostom's* Liturgy, are but a Copy of such Prayers as were then commonly used in the antient Church.

Ep. 107. ad  
Vital.

De Sacer. l. 6.  
c. 4.

Here followed the Petition for all in Affliction, by Sickness, Slavery, Banishment, Confiscation, and Proscription; and for all Persons travelling by Sea or Land. Of these Petitions St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* is the only Writer that takes any notice; but he says, after they had prayed for the Peace of the Church and World, for Kings, their Armies and Allies, they also besought God for all that were sick and afflicted, or in any kind of Want; and last of all, they prayed for the Dead. However, there is little doubt but the Sick, &c. were remembred in these Prayers in all the Churches; since in the Deacon's Bidding-Prayer before the Oblation, Direction is given to the People to pray for all such.

Cat. 5. n. 6.

The next Petition in the *Constitutions* is for Enemies, Persecutors, Hereticks and Unbelievers. And that this was the constant Practice of the Antients is fully proved by Dr. *Cave*, from *Cyprian*, *J. Martyr*, and *Irenaus*. To which we may add the Testimonies of *Tertullian* and *Arnobius*, who both agree in this, that their Churches were Oratories, wherein they pray'd for Peace and Pardon, for the Magistrates and Princes, for their Armies, for their Friends and for their Enemies. And St. *Austin* says the Priest was wont to exhort the People

*Cave's Primitive  
Christianity*, p.  
3. c. 2.  
Tert. Apol. c.  
31. & Arnob.  
l. 4.

Ep. 107. ad Vital.

at

Book XV. at the Altar to pray for Unbelievers. Pope *Celestine* says the whole Church prayed with the Priest for Infidels, Idolaters, Jews, Hereticks and Schismatics. The same is repeated by *Genadius*, who adds that this Practice was derived from the Apostles, and uniformly observed in the whole Catholick Church throughout the World.

Ep. 1. ad Gall.  
c. 11.

De Ecc. Dogm.  
c. 30.

After this follows the Prayer for the Catechumens of the Church, that God would perfect them in the Faith; for the Energumens, that God would cleanse them and deliver them from the evil one; and for the Penitents, that God would accept their Repentance, and pardon both them and the whole Church. Whence we may observe that these several Orders were prayed for three distinct times in divine Service: First, in the Prayers that were said for them in their Presence, in the Service of the Catechumens; Secondly, in the Deacon's Bidding Prayer for the whole State of the Church, before the Oblation; and, Thirdly, after the Oblation, when all Orders of Men were prayed for, at the Sacrifice of the Altar: And this last is particularly noted by *St. Austin* and others.

Hom. 2. in 2 Cor.

Ad Scap. c. 4.

Ad Demet.

In the next Place, they prayed for Health and Provision; for the Temperature of the Air, and the Increase of the Fruits of the Earth, as the *Constitutions* word it, that they participating of the good things which God bestows upon Men, might without ceasing praise him. And this is noted by *St. Chrysostom*, when he says they prayed for the Earth and Sea, for the Air and for the whole World. *Tertullian* also intimates in general, that they were used to pray for temporal Blessings, and for Rain among the rest. *Cyprian* says they offer'd continually Supplications and Prayers night and day for Victory over their Enemies, for obtaining Rain, &c. which being their continual Prayer, it is not to be doubted but it was a Part of their Prayers at the Altar.

The last Petition mention'd in the *Constitutions* is for Absenters from the Assembly upon just Cause, that God would preserve both the Absent and

and Present in Godliness, &c. The like Petition is mention'd by *Chrysostom*, where he says, The Priest when he stands at the Altar, bids us give thanks for the whole World, for those that are absent and those that are present, &c. while the Sacrifice lies upon the Altar.

The Conclusion of this Prayer in the *Constitutions* is with a Doxology to the whole Trinity; and that this was the constant Custom of the Church is evident from what has been said before concerning the Adoration of the whole Trinity, and also concerning the Use of divine Hymns and Doxologies to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: and farther from *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*, who both mention one Part of this Doxology, as particularly us'd at the Consecration of the Eucharist. *Irenæus* says the *Valentinians* made it an Argument for their *Æones*, that the Catholics us'd to say, *ὡς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, in their Eucharistical Service; and *Tertullian* particularly asks those who frequented the *Roman Games*, how they could say *World without end* to any other but Christ their God, with that Mouth wherewith they had said it at the Eucharist.

Iren. 1. 1. c. 7.  
Tert. de Spect.  
c. 25.

That the Custom of the Peoples saying *Amen* to the Prayers of the Church, is as antient as the Apostles time, appears from *St. Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 14. 16. And that it was practis'd in the Primitive Church, particularly in the Celebration of the Eucharist, is evident from *Justin Martyr*, who says, That when the President had ended his Prayers and Thanksgivings over the Bread and Wine, all the People assented with their Acclamations, saying *Amen*.

Apol. 2.

Immediately after the Consecration followed the Creed in such Churches as had made it a Part of their Liturgy: But this Part of the Service is not mentioned in the *Constitutions*, because when that Author made his Collections, it was not customary to use it in any Service but that of Baptism, in any Church whatsoever. It has been observed before, that the Creed was brought into the *Spanish Churches* about the Year 589. and that



Book XV. after the Example of the *Eastern Churches*, where it was recited between the Reading of the Gospel and the Diptychs: so that it appears to have been appropriated to the Time after Consecration, between that and the Lord's Prayer, which in most Churches they were used to repeat also towards the Conclusion of these Prayers following the Oblation.

For tho the *Constitutions* do not mention the Lord's Prayer in this Part of the Service, yet we are assured it was almost generally used in all Churches. The third and fourth Councils of *Toledo* speak of it as coming before the Reception of the Bread and Wine, in the *Spanish Churches*. *Ep. 59. ad Paul.* St. *Austin* says the whole Church almost concluded the Oblation Prayers with it: And others, as has been noted before, were of opinion that the Apostles used no other Prayer to consecrate the Eucharist. *Optatus* says the using the Lord's Prayer was so customary by necessary Prescript, that the *Donatists* themselves did not pretend to omit it. And in some of the *French Councils* an Order was made, That no Layman, tho he did not communicate, should leave the Assembly before the Lord's Prayer was said.

*L. 2.* It appears from *Optatus* that in the *African Church* the Penitents were usually absolved about this Time; for he says, the very moment after they had given Penitents Imposition of Hands and Pardon of Sins, they were obliged to turn to the Altar, and say the Lord's Prayer: which implies that Absolution was commonly given at this Season.

After the Lord's Prayer, in many of the *Western Churches*, there followed a Benediction. *Can. 28.* The third Council of *Orleance* orders all Laymen to stay till they had heard the Lord's Prayer, and received the Benediction: And the fourth Council of *Toledo* censures some Priests for communicating immediately after the Lord's Prayer, without giving the Benediction to the People; and orders, That for the future the Benediction should follow the Lord's Prayer, and after that the

## Of the Oblation and Consecration Prayers.

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the Communion. And this agrees with the Order in the *Constitutions*, where after the Prayer of Consecration and Oblation is ended, the Bishop is appointed to give this short Benediction, *The Peace of God be with you all.* And then after the Deacon has rehearsed a Bidding Prayer (much to the same purpose with the former) the Bishop again recommends the People to God in another Prayer, which the *Greeks* call *παράδεξις*, and the *Latins* *Commendatio* and *Benedictio*, beseeching God to sanctify their Bodies and Souls, and to make them worthy of the good things he has set before them; which relates both to their worthy Reception of the Eucharist, and their obtaining eternal Life.

L. 8. c. 13.

But there is one Petition in the Deacon's Bidding Prayer after the Consecration, in the *Constitutions*, which is not to be passed by; that is, That God would receive the Gift that was then offered to him to his Altar in Heaven, as a sweet-smelling Savour, by the Mediation of his Christ. This Form seems as antient as *Ireneus*; for he says, We have an Altar in Heaven, and thither our Prayers and Oblations are directed. And so it is in all the *Greek* Liturgies, with little Variation: and frequently in the *Mosarabick* Liturgy, and the old *Gothick* Missal published by *Mabillon*; there are Prayers for the Descent of the Holy Ghost to sanctify the Gifts, and make them the Body and Blood of Christ, even after the Repetition of the Words, *This is my Body*, and *This is my Blood*; which is an evident Proof that the antient Formers of the Liturgy did not think the Consecration to be effected by the bare Repetition of those Words. And it is remarkable, that even in the present Canon of the *Roman* Mass there is still such a Prayer as this, remaining after what they call Consecration: The Priest offering the Host says, *Be pleased to look upon these things with a favourable and propitious Eye, as thou wert pleased to accept the Gifts of Abel thy righteous Servant*: He adds, *We beseech thee, Almighty God, to command that these things may be*

L. 4. c. 34.

Missal. Rom.

## Book XV.

*carried by the Hands of thy Holy Angels to thy Altar on high: Concluding, By Christ our Lord, by whom thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, and bless these good things to us. These Words, as our Polemick Writers have observed, were used before Transubstantiation was invented, and when the Consecration was thought to be made by Prayer, and not barely by pronouncing the Words, This is my Body. Now it is proper to say all this of the Gifts, supposing them to be real Bread and Wine, but improper if they are transubstantiated into the natural Flesh and Blood of Christ. From whence we may conclude, that the first Compilers of this Prayer knew nothing of Transubstantiation. But we shall say more of this hereafter.*

Cat. 5. n. 16.

Hom. 17. in Heb.

Hom. 3. in Col.

Hom. 9. in Col.

Immediately after the Bishop's Benediction the Deacon, in the *Constitutions*, is appointed to say, *Let us give Attention.* And then the Bishop calling to the People says, *Holy things for those that are holy, &c.* as before. Cyril of Jerusalem takes notice of one Part of this in his Church, where it came next after the Lord's Prayer. After that, says he, the Priest says, *Holy things for holy men, &c.* Then ye say, *There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ.* The same is also noticed by St. Chrysostom, who compares the Service of the Church upon this account to the *Olympick Games*, where the Herald stands and cries with a loud Voice, Does any one accuse this Man? Is he a Thief? Is he a Slave? Is he an immoral Man? So the Ecclesiastical Herald, when he says, *Holy things for holy men*, says this, If any one be not holy, let him not come here. In like manner he often speaks of the Hymn *Glory be to God on high*, and says that it was sung at the Eucharist, as well as upon other occasions. His Words are *ευχαριστῶντες λέγομεν*, when we give thanks, or celebrate the Eucharist, we say it. And that by the Thanksgiving he here means the Eucharist, is evident from another Place, where he says, They who are Communicants know what Hymn is sung by the Spi-

rits

rits above; what the Cherubims say above; what the Angels said, *Glory be to God on high.*

St. Cyril says, that after the Hymn *One Holy*, a Psalm was sung, the thirty first, and particularly those Words, *Taste, and see that the Lord is gracious*: And this was an Invitatory to communicate, distinct from those Psalms which were used to be sung afterwards, while the People were communicating; and which were for Meditation and Devotion, and of which there will be occasion to say more in the next Chapter.

Car. 5. n. 17.

Here it is to be observed, That as all divine Service was in a known Tongue, so particularly the Consecration of the Eucharist was; that the People might understand it, and answer *Amen*. The contrary Practice now prevails in the Church of *Rome*: But both *Habertus* and *Bona* own that it is an Innovation; and it is certain that there was a severe Law made against it in the time of *Justinian*, which concludes to this purpose, That if any Bishop or Presbyter condemn this Rule, they must give an account hereof in the dreadful Judgment of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ; and we, when they come to our knowledge, will not suffer them to remain quiet and unpunished.

Hab. Archierat.  
Par. 8. Obs. 9. &  
Bona Rer. Lit.  
l. 2. c. 13.

Nov. 137. c. 6.

Besides this, it was the Practice of the Antients, in the Consecration of the Eucharist, always to break the Bread, in conformity to our Saviour's Example, to represent his Passion and Crucifixion. *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks of this as a general Practice, and *St. Austin* says the whole Church observed it. This is mention'd by several others; neither does *Bona* himself deny it, but proves it farther from all the older Ritualists and Liturgies, of which he says there is not any one that does not prescribe this Breaking of Bread; the *Greeks* into four Parts, the *Latins* into three, and the *Mosarabick* Liturgy into nine. *Mabillon* adds, that these nine Parts in that Liturgy are characterized by so many several Names, viz. Incarnation, Nativity, Circumcision, Epi-

Strom. l. 1.

Ep. 59. ad Paul.



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phany, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Glory, and Kingdom; which is a little Deviation from the Simplicity of the antient Church, yet not so culpable as the present Practice of the *Roman* Church, where instead of breaking Bread for the Communicants, they only break a single Wafer into three Parts (of which no one partakes) only to retain a Shadow of the antient Custom. The Reasons they urge for this Alteration of the Primitive Practice, are two; lest in breaking the Bread some Danger might happen, and some Crumbs or Particles of it perish: And then again, because the Pope has Power to alter any thing relating to the Sacrament, according to the Exigencies of Time and Place, if it only concerns the Ornament or Accidentals of it. As if Christ himself could not have foreseen any Dangers that might happen, or given as prudent Orders as the Pope concerning his own Institution.



## C H A P. IV.

*Of Communicants, or Persons who were allowed to receive this Sacrament, and the Manner of receiving it.*

Can. 10.



AMONG the *Apostolical Canons* there is one runs in these Words: 'All such of the Faithful as come to Church, and hear the Scriptures read, but stay not the Prayers, and to partake of the Communion, ought to be suspended as Authors of Disorder in the Church.' This Canon is repeated by the Council of *Antioch*, with a little Enlargement: 'All such as come into the Church of God, and hear the Scriptures read, but do not communicate with the People in Prayer, and refuse to par-

Can. 2.

‘ partake of the Eucharist, which is a disorderly Practice, and ought to be cast out of the Church till they confess their Fault, and bring forth Fruits of Repentance; when if they ask pardon, they may obtain it.’ This Canon is also inserted into the Collection of *Martin Bracarenfis*, Col. Can. c. 18. for the Use of the *Spanish* Church. And *Gratian* alleges a Decree of Pope *Anacletus* to the same purpose, which shews the Practice that was then prevailing even in the *Roman* Church. From all which it is evident that it was the antient Custom for all that were allowed to stay and communicate in Prayers, to communicate in the Eucharist, except only the last Class of Penitents, who were admitted to hear the Prayers, but not to make their Oblation, nor receive the Communion.

De Conf. Dist. 2. c. 10.

In *St. Chrysostom*’s time, some began to desire the Liberty of staying during the whole Office, without communicating. These were not willing to be accounted Penitents, and to be driven out with them, and yet they would not be Communicants, and orderly partake with the Church: But such are severely censured by that Father. Yet in the next Age this Discipline was a little relaxed, and Men who would not communicate, were not only permitted, but enjoined to stay during the whole Service, till after the Lord’s Prayer and Bishop’s Benediction; which, as has been shewed in the last Chapter, was not till the whole Consecration was over, immediately before the Act of partaking. At which time this sort of Non-Communicants were dismissed with a solemn Prayer called the Benediction, as appears from the Council of *Orleance* before referred to. The Council of *Agde* also says, That all secular Men on the Lord’s Day should stay to hear Mass, and not depart before the Bishop’s Benediction. So that what was reckoned a Crime in the time of *Chrysostom*, a little after was accounted a Piece of Devotion.

Chryf. Hom. 3. in Eph.

Can. 44.

And this brought in another Innovation along with it, That such as would not communicate, might yet partake of the *Eulogia*, or a sort of consecrated Bread distinct from the Eucharist. The

## Book XV.

Vid. Casaub.  
Exer. 16. in Ba-  
ron. n. 33.  
Can. 9.

*Eulogia* in the more antient Writers, is the same with the *Eucharist* : But in after Ages it was distinguished. The Council of *Nante* about the Year 800. order'd the Presbyters to keep some part of the People's Oblations till after the Service, that such as were not prepared to communicate, might every Festival and Lord's Day receive some of this *Eulogia*, when blessed with a proper Benediction. Some Collectors of the Canons ascribe this Decree to Pope *Pius* the Martyr in the second Century : but *Bona* owns that a Forgery ; and says, that at that time there was no such thing as that kind of *Eulogia* in the Church.

But *Bona* is not so candid in the Business of private or solitary Mass, in which the Priest receives alone, without any other Communicants, and sometimes says the Office without any Assistants : Such are all those private Masses in the *Roman* Church, which are said at their private Altars in the Corners of their Churches, without the presence of any but the Priest alone ; and all those publick Masses where none but the Priest receives, tho there be many Spectators of the Action. Yet after all the Defence that Author can make of it, there is not any Footstep of it to be traced in the Primitive Church. The Monks were the first Inventors of it about the time of the Council of *Nante* ; and by that Council the Practice of it was not only forbid, but very severely censured, as is evident from a Canon cited by *Ivo*. And *Bona* himself, tho he pretends to prove, That private Mass, without Communicants or Assistants, is a very antient and laudable Practice, relates several Canons by which it is forbidden. Among others, he cites the Synod of *Paris* under *Gregory IV. Ann. 829.* which is most remarkable, because it shews both the Original, and the Grounds and Motives that introduced this Corruption : ' A very culpable Custom, say they, is ' crept in many Places, partly by Negligence, and ' partly by Covetousness, which ought by all means ' to be reformed, That some Presbyters celebrate ' Mass without any Attendants. Whence it is ' proper

Conc. Nannot.  
ap. Ivonem.

Conc. Paris. l. 1.

' proper to convene, and ask every such busy  
 ' Consecrator of the Body and Blood of the  
 ' Lord, To whom he uses those Words, *The*  
 ' *Lord be with you;* and who answers him, *And*  
 ' *with thy Spirit?* Or for whom he supplicates the  
 ' Lord, when he says among other things, *Re-*  
 ' *member those who stand about me;* when there are  
 ' none standing about him? Which Custom there-  
 ' fore, being contrary to Apostolical and Eccle-  
 ' siastical Authority, and bringing a Reproach  
 ' upon so great a Mystery, it seems good to us all  
 ' in common to inhibit it for the future; and that  
 ' every Bishop take care that no Presbyter within  
 ' his Diocese shall presume to celebrate Mass by  
 ' himself alone.' He also adds some Canons out  
 of *Gratian*, under the Name of Pope *Soter* and  
*Anacletus*, to the same purpose: upon which *Bona*  
 makes this Reflection, That these could not be  
 the Decrees of those antient Bishops, because soli-  
 tary Mass was a thing never heard of in their Age;  
 and he could not think they would make Laws to  
 take away an Abuse, which crept not in till some  
 Ages after among the Monks.

Grat. de Consec.  
 Dist. 1. c. 61.

Bona, l. 1. c. 13.  
 n. 6.

But *Bona* mentions two other Abuses crept in-  
 to the Church in the later Ages, which he cen-  
 sures severely, tho they found great Encourage-  
 ment in their time. The one was called *Missa*  
*Sicca*, dry Mass, which, he says, took its Original  
 from the indiscreet and private Devotion of some,  
 to which the Priests were too indulgent. It is a  
 mere Mask, and Counterfeit of the true Mass,  
 properly dry and jejune, and wanting not only  
 the Consecration, but the Participation of the  
 Body of Christ; yet it so prevail'd, that he  
 adds, for some time it was not displeasing to holy  
 and learned Men. *Gulielmus de Nangiac*, the  
 Monk, in his Book of the Actions of St. *Lewis*,  
 tells how that most religious King, returning from  
 beyond Sea into *France*, had the Body of Christ  
 in the Ship with him, and there order'd all the  
 whole Divine Office, and the Mass, except the  
 Canon, to be daily celebrated. *Durantis*, in his  
*Rationale*, l. 4. c. 1, describes the manner of cele-  
 brating

Rer. Liturg. 1.  
 1. c. 15. n. 6.



Book XV. brating it, where he says the whole Office may be used, except the Canon ; altho in the Preface the Angels seem to be invocated to the Consecration of the Body and Blood of *Christ*. *Durantis* says, this is called the Seamens Mass, *Missa Nautica*, because it was used to be celebrated at Sea, and upon Rivers, where by reason of the Agitation of the Waves, the Sacrifice could hardly be offer'd without Effusion. But this, *Bona* says, was condemned by several, tho it was commended by others ; and for himself he adds, That now by the provident Care of Bishops, he thinks this Abuse is abrogated and destroyed all over the World. However, *Durantis* tells us out of *Navarre*, that the Book called *Liber Sacerdotalis*, where this *Missa Nautica* is described, was approved by *Leo* the Tenth, and that *St. Antonine* speaks of it as used at *Tholouse* by way of Funeral Service in the Afternoon. From whence we may judge what Corruptions may creep into the Church, and gain the Approbation both of their Popes and Saints by their own Confession.

The other Corruption mentioned by *Bona*, is their *Missa Bisfaciata*, and *Trisfaciata*, which *Petrus Crantor* sharply rebukes. In his time some Priests had got a Trick of throwing many Masses into one, saying the Mass of the Day, or some special Mass, as far as the Offertory, and then beginning another as far as the same Place, and after that a third and fourth in the same manner. After that they said as many secret Prayers as they had begun Masses, and then made one Canon serve them all, adding as many *Collects* in the End as they had repeated in the Beginning. This Practice also owes its Original to the Covetousness of the Priest, who knowing it to be unlawful for them to celebrate more than once in one Day, invented this grafting of many Masses upon one Stock, that by once celebrating they might satisfy the Devotion of many together, getting the Pay of several Masses for one Sacrifice. Hence they had the Name of *Bisfaciata* and *Trisfaciata* given them, because they had a double and a triple Face.

Among

Among these Abuses, *Baronius* notes another that was censured by the 17th Council of *Toledo*. Some Priests in *Spain* were so corrupt as to gratify revengeful Men, by saying the Service of the Dead for the Living; that they for whom the Office was said, might incur the Danger of Death, by having a Sacrifice offer'd for them. Against such Compliers that Council order'd the Sentence of Deposition and Excommunication. But to the foregoing we may add one other Abuse that is mentioned by the same Council, which was, That some Priests having occasion to consecrate the Eucharist more than once in a Day, would not communicate themselves every time, but only at the last Consecration. Which was another sort of private Mass, but as it were the Reverse of that of the *Romish* Church. For as now the Priest receives without the People, so then the People were forced to communicate without the Priest. Both which that Council thought preposterous, and made an Order against. But to return,

As all Persons within the Pale of the Church, in the largest Sense of the Word, were obliged to communicate, except *Catechumens* and *excommunicate Persons*, so Schismatics and Hereticks were commonly reckoned among the latter; and consequently they were denied the Sacrament, whether they had been baptized in the Church, or were baptized in Heresy and Schism. For which reason, tho they were sometimes allowed to hear the Scriptures read, and the Sermon preached, when the Service of the Catechumens was over, they were obliged to depart with them, till they had made Confession of their Errors, and renounced them, and were reconciled by Imposition of Hands and Absolution.

On the other hand, it is beyond Dispute that the Church admitted new-baptized Infants to the Eucharist, and ever after without Exception. Some Evidence has been given already of this for at least eight Centuries, out of *Gennadius*, *Alcuin*, &c. But we shall add the Testimony of the more antient Writers, that it may not be thought to be only

## Book XV.

De Lapis, p.  
115, & 132.  
Conf. l. 8. c. 12.

Eccl. Hier. c. 7.

Ep. 23. ad Bonif.

Ep. 93. inter Ep.  
Aug.

In Off. Sab. Sanc.

Bibl. Pat. t. 10.

De Off. cap. de  
Sab. Sanc.

Not. in Regimon.  
l. 1. c. 69.

Ep. de Ord. Bap.  
ibid.

Cap. 7. Conc.  
t. 8.

only the Invention of later Ages. *St. Cyprian* often mentions it as the common Practice. The Author of the *Constitutions* invites Parents to bring their Children to it: and in another Place describing the Order in which they communicated, he says, First, let the Bishops receive, then the Presbyters, &c. after that the Children, and then all the People in their Order. *Dionysius* says that Children were admitted not only to Baptism, but to the Eucharist, tho they did not understand the Reasons of either Mystery. *St. Austin* not only cites *Cyprian* upon this account, but seems to say it was necessary for Infants in order to obtain eternal Life; and that in several Places. Pope *Innocent* also, his Cotemporary, seems to have been of the same opinion, for he argues for the Necessity of baptizing Infants, from the Necessity of their eating the Flesh, and drinking the Blood of the Son of Man. But to pursue this Matter on in the *Roman Church*, we find that this Custom continued even there for many Ages; *Mal-donat* says six, but *Bona* doubles the Number: for he says it was not abrogated in *France* till the twelfth Century. In *Gregory's Sacramentarium* there is an Order concerning Infants, That they should be allowed to suck the Breast before the Holy Communion, if Necessity so required: And the old *Ordo Romanus*, composed in the ninth Century, has an Order to the same purpose, That Infants should not eat nor suck after they were baptized, till they had communicated in the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, without great Necessity. So *Alcuin* also says, in the Time of *Charles the Great*. And there are two Manuscript *Pontificals* of the same Age, cited by *Baluzius*, which have Rubricks to the same purpose. The Orders of *Jesse* Bishop of *Amiens*, call it confirming Children with the Body and Blood of Christ. And it is remarkable, that *Walter* Bishop of *Orleance* in the same Age, among his Synodical Rules, has one to this purpose: That a Presbyter should always have the Eucharist by him, that if any one be infirm, or a young Child sick, he

he may give him the Communion. The second Council of *Mafcon*, Anno 588. and the third of *Tours*, in the time of *Charles the Great*, order the Remains of the Eucharist to be given to innocent Children. *Radulphus Ardens*, in the Beginning of the twelfth Century, speaks of it still as the Custom to give little Children the Sacrament, at least in the Species of Wine; and *Hugo de Sancto Victore* at the same time recommends the giving it to Children, if it might be done without danger; tho he intimates that the Custom was almost laid aside. And so it was not long after: For *Odo* Bishop of *Paris*, Anno 1175, ordered, That neither consecrated nor unconsecrated Bread should by any means be given to little Children; and that this Custom ceased in the *Gallican* Church. However it continued longer in some Places: For *Zuinglius* speaks of it among the *Helvetians*, in their Ritual Book of *Claron*; and *Hospinian* assures us from his own Knowledge, that in *Lorain* and the adjacent Parts it was usual for the Priest, when he had baptized a Child, to dip his Fingers in the Cup, and drop the Wine into the Child's Mouth, saying, The Blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ* be of advantage unto thee to Eternal Life.

Can. 6.  
Can. 19.

Serm. de die Pasce.

De Sacram. l. 1.  
c. 20.

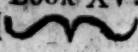
Stat. Syn. c. 39.

The *Greek* Church was a little more tenacious of the antient Custom: For several Writers among them speak of it down to the fourteenth Century; and *Suicerus* tells us out of a modern *Greek* Writer, that it is continued still among them; as it is also in the *Ethiopick* Churches, according to *Oforius*. And he cites *Sigismundus Baro's* History of *Muscovy* for the same in the *Russian* Churches. But besides him there are several other later Authors who assert the same. But we do not say all this to reduce the Custom into Practice again, because there are good Reasons to persuade the contrary; but rather to shew the Vanity of that Pretence to Infallibility in the Church of *Rome* in Matters of Doctrine and necessary Practice; since they themselves have thought fit to alter one Point, which their infal-

Tom. 2. p. 1138.

lible



Book XV.  libile Popes and Forefathers for so many Ages observed as necessary ; and withal, to shew that any other Church has a better Pretence than they to reform any Practice, not grounded upon the Word of God.

Apol. 2.

Ep. ad Decent.

Ap. Euseb. l. 5.  
c. 24.

Mosch. Pratum  
Spir. c. 29.

But we now come again to the business of the antient Church, where we find that not only the present Members were all Communicants, but they who were absent had it sent them by the hands of a Deacon, to testify that while they were absent upon any lawful occasion, they were still reputed in the Communion of the Church. This is plainly asserted by *Justin Martyr* : and upon this account it was that the Eucharist at *Rome* in the time of *Melchiades*, *Siricius* and *Innocent* (as we have seen before) was usually sent from the Bishop's Church to the *Tiruli*, or lesser Churches, for the Presbyters ministring in those Churches to communicate with him ; and as some think for the Communicants also : tho it is more probable that they had Power to consecrate the Eucharist in their own Churches. However for all that, a Portion was sent by the Bishop from his own Church to all the nearer Churches, to certify that they were in Communion with him. He did not send it to the Country Churches, as *Innocent* words it ; because the Sacraments were not to be carried about to Places at too great a Distance : But yet to testify their Communion with foreign Bishops, they were wont to send it to far distant Churches. This is evident from *Ireneus*, and observed by *Valesius* in some other Writers. But this was chiefly, if not solely, done at the Paschal Festival, in token of their Love. Yet the Council of *Laodicea* absolutely forbid it ; tho the Custom continued in some Places for several Ages after. But where they left it off, they brought up another Way of testifying their mutual Amity, by certain Symbols of Bread, which they also blessed, but in a different kind of Benediction from that of the Eucharist. And to these also they gave the Name of *Eulogia* & *Panis benedictus*, consecrated Bread, which

which the modern *Greeks* call *ἀντίδοτα*, vicarious Gifts, because they were given in many Cases instead of the Eucharist: And these were also sent abroad as the Eucharist had used to be, and for the same end. These *Eulogia* were not to be received from *Jews* or Hereticks, according to the Council of *Laodicea*, as some understand the *τὰ πεμπόμενα ἑορτασικά* therein mention'd with that Prohibition.

Among the absent Members of the Church, Persons sick, or in Prison, who daily expected their Dissolution, and Penitents seized with Sickness in which there appeared little Hopes, were especially regarded: and to all these they commonly sent the Eucharist. The Council of *Nice* and *Agde* allow it to all Penitents at the Point of Death. The first Council of *Vaison* makes a Provision for such Penitents as were snatch'd away without the *Viaticum* of the Sacrament, whilst they were preparing for it, that their Oblations should be received, and their Funerals and Memorials celebrated with the Rites of the Church. The eleventh Council of *Toledo* made another Provision for such as could not take the whole Communion, nor swallow the Bread, but only drink the Cup, that they should not be cut off from the Body of the Church. The Eucharist in these Cases was commonly carried and deliver'd by a Presbyter or Deacon: yet in Cases of great necessity it might be carried and given by any other; as appears from *Eusebius*. But this was forbidden by the Canons in ordinary Cases.

That the Antients used to consecrate the Eucharist sometimes in the Houses of sick Persons, and in Prisons, is evident: *Cyprian* often mentions such Consecrations, those in Prisons in particular; and *Dionysius*, speaking of the Times of Persecution, says that every Place was then a Temple: *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola* is said to have ordered an Altar for himself in his own Chamber, where he consecrated the Eucharist, not many Hours before his Death: And *Gregory Nazianzen* tells us, That his Father consecrated it in his own

Chamber;

Can. 13.

Can. 15.

Can. 2.

Can. 11.

L. 6. c. 44.

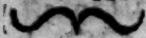
Ep. 5. ad Cler.

Ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 22.

Uran. Vita Paul.

Orat. 19. de laud. Pat.

Book XV.



Act. 5.

Can. 52.

Can. 49.

Ep. ad Naud.

Chamber; and that his Sister had a domestick Altar. But yet it is certain, That most commonly they reserved some small Portion of the Eucharist in the Church, in case of such Emergencies. Neither was this Reserve always kept in the Church, but sometimes by the Minilters in their own Houses. That it was generally repositied in the Church is fairly to be collected from *Optatus, Chrysostom, Victor Uticensis*, and in particular from the Council of *Constantinople* under *Mennas*, where mention is made of Silver and Golden Doves hanging at the Altar, which most probably were then used as the Repositories of the Sacrament kept in the Churches.

It appears farther from the Council of *Trullo*, that the Eucharist was sometimes reserved for the publick Use of the Church, some Days after its Consecration, particularly in *Lent*, when they communicated on such Elements as had been consecrated the Saturday or Sunday in the foregoing Week; which were the only Days in *Lent* on which they used the Consecration Service, tho they communicated on other Days as well. The Words of the Council of *Trullo* run thus, That on every Day in the holy Fast of *Lent*, except Saturdays and Sundays, and the Feast of the *Annuntiation*, the Liturgy of the presanctified Gifts shall be performed. This is best understood from another Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which orders that the Eucharist should not be offered in *Lent* on any other Day, except the Sabbath and the Lord's Day: not that they prohibited the Communion on other Days; but then they received only that which had been consecrated before, on the Sabbath or Lord's Day, and which was reserved for the Communion of these Days without any new Consecration. This is commonly reckoned by learned Men the Beginning of this sort of Communions upon reserved Hosts, tho it be hard to guess at the reason of the Observation. The Reason the *Greeks* give for it, as *Leo Allatius* says, is this: That the Consecration Service is proper only for Festivals, and there-

therefore all other Days in *Lent* besides Saturdays and Sundays being Fast-days, they did not consecrate on those Days, but only communicated in the Elements which had been consecrated before. But whether this is a true Reason or no, it is certain it was an antient Practice in the *Greek Church*, and it continues so, tho the *Latin Church* never adopted it into her Service; for they used to consecrate, as well as communicate, about three in the Afternoon, all the Days of *Lent*, as is evident from *Tertullian*, *St. Ambrose*, and many others.

But besides this Reservation of the Elements for publick Use, by the Ministers of the Church, some religious Persons also were sometimes allowed to carry a Portion of the Eucharist home with them, to participate of it every day in private by themselves. And this Custom seems to have had its original from the times of Persecution, when Men were willing to communicate every day, but durst not frequent the daily Assemblies. *Cyprian* is very plain as to this Custom, where he says, That a certain Woman having sacrificed at the Heathen Altars, when she came afterwards to open her Chest, where she kept the holy Sacrament of the Lord, was so terrified with a sudden Eruption of Fire, that she durst not touch it. It is also mentioned by *Gregory Nazianzen*: And *Basil* says it was customary in the times of Persecution for Christians, when they could not have a Priest or a Deacon present with them, to take the Eucharist with their own Hands; as they who led a solitary Life did also. At *Alexandria* and thro *Egypt* it was customary for the People to take the Sacrament home with them. This Custom is also intimated by *St. Jerome* and *St. Ambrose*; tho in the *Spanish Churches* it was discouraged in the beginning of the fifth Century, upon the account of the *Priscillianists*, who made use of it to cover themselves against the Catholics, and yet never eat the Eucharist at all: In opposition to whom the Council of *Saragossa*, about the Year 381, made a De-

De Lapf.

Orat. 11. de Gorg.  
Ep. 289.Ep. 50. ad Pam.  
Orat. de Ob.  
Frat.

Can. 3.



Book XV.  cree, That if any one was found to take the Eucharist in the Church, and not eat it, he should be anathematized. And this was seconded by a like Decree, in the first Council of *Toledo*. But as these Canons were made upon a particular occasion, and for a particular Country, they did not much affect the rest of the World: inso-much that *Bona* observes that it continued in the seventh and eighth Centuries. And doubtless it was the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, which perfectly abolished this Custom, which was thought inconsistent with it.

Can. 14.

But tho the Church permitted the People to carry the Eucharist home, and participate of it in private, she never permitted any Layman to have any hand in the Administration of it, in her publick Service. Only the Bishops and Presbyters might consecrate, and it was the Deacons Office to distribute: and when any Laymen presumed to administer, they were corrected for it by Ecclesiastical Censures. And more especially Women were debarred from this, and all other Offices in the publick Ministrations.

De Pœn. l. 8. c. 14.  
Rer. Lit. l. 2. c.  
17. n. 6.

*Morinus* observes, and *Bona* after him, That the Mendicants were the first who introduced the Custom of keeping the Sacrament in the Church for private Men in Health to partake of, *extra Sacrificium*, out of the time of publick Service in the Church. They freely own this to be a Novelty, and that against the Rules of the *Roman* Ritual, which orders the Sacrament to be kept in the Church only for the sick; according to the Practice of the antient Church.

Some Writers tell us, That about the time of *Charles the Great* it was usual in the Ordination of a Presbyter, not only to give the new-ordained Person the Communion at that time, but also as much of it in reserve as would serve him to partake of for forty Days after. This Custom is mention'd by *Alcuin*, and the *Ordo Romanus*; and *Bona* does not pretend to find it in any more antient Writers. It is hard to guess at the Reasons of this Custom; seeing that great Inconveniences

De Off. c. 37.

cies sometimes attended it: for it would often grow mouldy, &c. and then they were hard put to it how to dispose of it. Sometimes it was devoured by Mice, &c. thro the Negligence of the Priest, in which case he was to do penance 40 days, as *Gratian* cites a Canon out of some Council of *Arles* or *Orleans* to this purpose. But if it grew stale or corrupted, it was to be burnt, by other Canons cited by *Ivo* out of the Council of *Arles*, and the Ashes buried under the Altar. This *Algerus* assures us was the Custom in his time: And the Canon of the Mass has a Rubrick still in being, That if a Fly, or a Spider, or any such Animal, falls into the Cup after Consecration, the Priest, when the Mass is ended, must take it out, and wash it with Wine, and burn it in the Fire: And so he must do if it be spilt upon the Ground, he must gather up the Earth and burn it.

De Conf. Dist. 2.

c. 94.

De Euc. l. 2. c. 1.

De Def. Mis. c. 5.

As for the Energumens, tho they did not receive them to the Eucharist, neither did they wholly exclude them: in the Intervals of their Distemper they sometimes permitted them to partake. This is evident from the Canons of *Timothy* of *Alexandria*, where Energumens are allow'd now and then, if they did not expose or blaspheme the Mysteries; and the *Egyptian* Fathers also approved it; for by this means they had relieved one Abbot *Andronicus*, and many others of their Distemper, as *Cassian* informs us. So that when the Canons say that the Energumens should be driven away from the Eucharist, with the Catechumens and Penitents, they are to be understood with this Exception: or at least we must say, that the Discipline of the Church was different in different Places.

Resp. Can. c. 3.

Coll. 7. c. 30.

Not to enumerate all the particular Crimes for which Men were debarred the Sacrament, and of which we shall treat more largely hereafter, it may be sufficient in this Place to note, That all Persons, even Emperors themselves, who were guilty of any notorious Crimes, were rejected, till they had confessed their Faults, and made ample Satisfaction; as appears from *Theodore*.

L. 5. c. 17.

## Book XV.



In some antient Canons we find Men excluded for Bigamy, or second Marriage; which indeed, as it is order'd and worded by the Canons of *Neocæsarea*, *Laodicea* and *St. Basil*, is one of the hardest Cases we meet with in all Church History; for they debar Men from the Sacrament for one or two Years upon that account. Bishop *Beveridge* and some others think these Canons mean only second Marriages, the first not being dissolved: but then a severer Penance might have been laid upon them. And therefore others think they intended to discourage, tho' not absolutely to forbid, second Marriages, even after cancelling the first by Death. But then this is not reconcilable with the Apostolical Rules; neither can it be excused from inclining to the Errors of the *Novatians* and *Montanists*. For which Reason it seems more probable that these Canons intended only to discountenance marrying after an unlawful Divorce, which was a scandalous Practice, tho' allowed by the Laws both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*: And this the rather because *Terrullian's* Arguments against the Catholicks upon this account imply, That they allowed of second Marriages in all except the Clergy, and many Churches admitted *Digamists* even into Orders too, as has been fully shewn in another Place.

There was one very corrupt and superstitious Practice began to creep pretty early into the *African* Churches and others, which is heartily censured; that was, giving the Eucharist to the dead. Against this there are several Canons, one in the third Council of *Carthage*, another in the *African* Code, another in the Council of *Auxerre* in *France*, Anno 587. which shews that the same Abuse had gotten some footing there. *St. Chrysostom* speaks against it as an Error of the *Marcionites*: and it appears that not long after his time there were some Remains of it in the *Greek* Church; for the Council of *Trullo* repeats the Prohibition of it in the Words of the Council of *Carthage*.

Carr. 3. c. 6.

Afr. c. 18.

Ancisc. c. 12.

Hom. 40.

Can. 83.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Bona* observes another Abuse in the Practice of St. *Benedict*, and approved by *Gregory the Great*; that is, the Custom of burying the Eucharist with the Dead. *Bona* says this was done by St. *Basil* in the *Greek Church*, as is reported in his Life: but whether this is authentick, may well be doubted. What is alledg'd by *Gregory* has more weight: for he says St. *Benedict* order'd the Communion to be laid upon the Breast of one of his Monks, and to be buried with him. He reckons these things were done either by divine Instinct, or by compliance with received Custom, which is since abrogated: But he produces no Rule for its Abrogation. And whatever Rules might be to the contrary, it is evident the Custom continued in the time of *Balzaemon* and *Zonaras*, and down to the time of *Ivo*.

As to the manner of communicating among the Antients, in the first place they observed this Method according to the Rule of the *Constitutions*. The Bishop received first; then the Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers, and Asceticks; among the Women, the Deaconesses, Virgins, Widows; then the Children; and after them all the People. In *Justin Martyr's* time the Bishop consecrated, and the Deacons distributed both the Elements; but in after-Ages the Bishop or Presbyter commonly ministred the Bread, and the Deacons the Cup. And there are some Canons that expressly forbid a Deacon to minister the Body of Christ, when a Presbyter is present; and others enjoining them not to do it without necessity, and a Licence from the Presbyter. By the Council of *Nice* a Presbyter is forbid to receive from the hands of a Deacon: But by Permission and Custom it became their ordinary Office to minister the Cup, and sometimes both Kinds, observing the Method prescribed to communicate, every one in their proper Order. For which reason they made another Distinction in placing the Communicants in their proper Stations; not that they distinguish'd nicely between poor and rich, yet for Order's sake

L. c. 8. 13.

Apol. 2.

Conc. Arel. 2. c.

15.

Cart. 4. c. 33.

Can. 18.



Book XV. they generally observed some Distinction of Places, tho not exactly the same in all Places. In the *Spanish* Churches the Presbyters and Deacons usually communicated at the Altar, and the rest of the Clergy in the Quire, and the People without the Rails of the Chancel. This appears from a Canon of the fourth Council of *Toledo*, founded upon another long before in the first Council of *Bräga*. And the same was order'd by the Council of *Laodicea*, long before that. And this seems to have been the constant Practice of the *Greek* Church, where no Layman, from that time, except the Emperor, was allowed to come to the Altar, to make his Oblations and communicate there. But this Privilege was allowed the Emperor by antient Tradition, as the Council of *Trullo* words it. And yet even this was denied the Emperor in the *Italic* Church, as is evident from St. *Ambrose*, obliging *Theodosius* to retire as soon as he had made his Oblations at the Altar. But *Valesius* observes from *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, that it was customary in the third Century for both Men and Women to stand at the Altar to communicate: And it appears from *Mabillon* that the same Custom was in the *Gallican* Churches; and the second Council of *Tours* has a Canon in in favour of it. So that it is plain this was one of those Rites which varied according to the Difference of Times and Places, and the various Usages and Customs of different Churches.

Can. 17.

Can. 31.

Can. 19.

Can. 69.

Can. 4.



C H A P.



CHAP. V.

*A Resolution of several Questions relating to the Manner of Communicating in the antient Church.*

I.  Hether the People, and such of the Clergy as did not consecrate, were generally admitted to communicate in both Kinds?

In answer to this Question, Card. Bona Res. Lit. l. 2. c. 19. n. 1.

says thus : ' It is very certain, that antiently all  
' in general, both Clergy and Laity, Men and  
' Women, received the Holy Mysteries in both  
' Kinds, when they were present at the solemn  
' Celebration of them ; and they both offer'd and  
' were Partakers. But out of the Time of Sa-  
' crifice, and out of the Church, it was custo-  
' mary always, and in all Places, to communi-  
' cate only in one kind. In the first Part of the  
' Assertion all agree, as well Catholicks as Secta-  
' ries ; nor can any one deny it who has the least  
' Knowledge of Ecclesiastical Affairs. For the  
' Faithful always, and in all Places from the very  
' first Foundation of the Church to the 12th Cen-  
' tury, were used to communicate under the  
' Species of Bread and Wine ; and in the Begin-  
' ning of that Age the Use of the Cup began by  
' little and little to be laid aside, whilst many  
' Bishops interdicted the People the Use of the  
' Cup for fear of Irreverence and Effusion. And  
' what they did first for their own Churches, was  
' afterward confirmed by a Canonical Sanction in  
' the Council of *Constance*. This is as fair a  
Confession for the Practice of the universal  
Church as we can desire, and supercedes all far-  
ther Trouble of citing Authorities in this Dis-  
pute.

Book XV.

pute. But this is not all, for *Bona* not only grants this, but he also tacitly answers all *Bellarmino's* Arguments and others, to persuade their Readers into a Belief of the antient Church giving the Communion only in one kind. He shews that Laymen communicated in both kinds, and therefore that when delinquent Clergymen were reduced to Lay-Communion, it was not to Communion only in one kind, as *Bellarmino* asserts. Then for the *Communio Peregrina*, the Communion of Strangers, which some interpret Communion in one kind; he shews the Mistake of that. And as *Bellarmino* draws another Argument or two from the Reservation of the Eucharist for the use of the Sick, and from that private and domestick Communion which was allowed to private Christians in their Houses, or in a Journey, or in a Wilderness; *Bona* says it is altogether besides the Question: For the Question is not about private and extraordinary, but the publick and ordinary Communion of the Church; concerning which he concludes that no Instance can be produced of its being celebrated only in one Kind before the twelfth Century.

But suppose that private and domestick Communion was in the Question, neither will an Argument from that be conclusive; because we find several Instances of communicating in both kinds even in that also, in *Nazianzen*, *St. Ambrose*, *Justin Martyr*, and some others. *St. Chrysostom's* Complaint to Pope *Innocent*, That in that Assault that was made upon his Church, the Holy Blood of Christ was spilt upon the Soldier's Clothes, is an Argument that the Communion was reserved in the Church for the Use of the Sick in both kinds, and is allowed by *Baronius*; who also proves from the Authority of *Gregory the Great*, that Seafaring Men carried both the Body and Blood of Christ along with them in the Ship. And *Bona* himself tells us that Hermits and Recluses in the Wilderness sometimes communicated in both kinds. But then they tell us that the presanctify'd Sacrament was only Communion in one kind; for they reserved only the Bread, and not the Wine

*Naz. Orat. 11.*  
*de Gorg. Amb.*  
*Orat. de Ob. Fraz.*  
*ris. Just. Apol.*  
*2. Chrys. Ep. ad*  
*Inn.*

Wine for this sort of Communion. But *Cassander* has unluckily spoiled this Argument: For he observes, That the *Ordo Romanus* in the Office of *Good-Friday* appoints Wine to be consecrated with the Lord's Prayer, by putting some of the pre-consecrated Body into it, *Ut populus plene possit communicare*, that the People may have the full Communion in both Kinds. And the same is to be said of the *Greeks* pre-sanctified Communion: For in that Liturgy Wine and Water is order'd to be put into the Cup; and then in their Prayers before the Communion the Elements are called the Body and Blood of the Lord. *Leo Allatius* goes farther, for he shews out of the *Greek Writers*, that in this Communion there were both the Elements of Bread either consecrated before, or by the Touch of one another. And the very Prayers in this Liturgy, both before and after the Communion, evidently shew it. And *Allatius* farther observes, That Communion in both kinds was used in *Spain* on *Good-Friday*, by Order of the *Mosarabick Liturgy*: Which agrees with *Cassander's* Observation before cited out of the *Latin Church*. Indeed both the *Greek* and *Latin Church* reserved only the Bread, and not the Wine for this Service; but when they came to communicate, they put the pre-consecrated Bread into a Cup of Wine, and said the Lord's Prayer, and some others, which was esteem'd a Consecration of it: and that reserving the Bread only, was what led *Bellarmino* and *Bona* into the Mistake, so as to think this kind of Communion was only in one Species.

De Com. sub.  
urr. specie.

Allat. de Miss.  
Præfanc.  
Cabalas Exp.  
Miss. c. 24.  
Simeon Opusc.  
cont. Hæres.

II. Whether the Antients received both the Elements separately, or the one dipped into and mixed with the other? Some Writers hold the latter Part of this Question, making the Custom of it as antient as the Time of Pope *Innocent* and *St. Chrysostom*; but others are of a quite different Opinion. And indeed there is nothing more evident in all the Writings of the Antients, than that the Bread was deliver'd distinct, and with a

Latinus Ep. ad  
Anton. Arcud.  
de Concor. l. 3.  
c. 53.



## Book XV.



Grat. de Consec.  
Dist. 2. c. 7.

Can. 1.

Ep. 32. ad Pont.

distinct Form of Words from that of the Cup; and commonly by distinct Persons: From whence it is plain that the mixing the Elements is a novel Invention. The Beginning of this Practice is hinted at and condemned, in an Epistle under the Name of Pope *Julius*, in *Gratian's* Collection; where he says it has no Authority to be produced for it, out of the Gospel, where Christ commended his Body and Blood to his Disciples; For the Gospel speaks of the Bread being apart, and the Cup apart by themselves. This is repeated in the same Words in the third Council of *Braga*, Ann. 675. And *Bona* tells us, out of *Micrologus*, that it was forbidden by the old *Roman Ordo*; and that it was declaimed against in the middle of the eleventh Century, tho not long after it was authorized in the *Roman Church*. For Pope *Urban* the Second, in the Council of *Clermont*, ordered it in case of Necessity so to be administered to the Sick, and in other Cases, for fear the Blood should be spilt. However, it had various Fortune in the *Roman Church*. *Paschal* the Second revoked the Licence of his Predecessor, ordering sick Persons rather to take the Blood alone. The Council of *Tours* mentioned by *Ivo*, order'd dipping; and the old Ritual of *Johannes Abrincatenfis* tells us, that this mixt Communion was order'd to be given to all People for fear of Effusion. This was in the antient Customs of the Monastery of *Cluny*, published by *Dacherius*; tho it is intimated in a marginal Note there, that the old Custom of giving both Kinds separately was used in other Churches. The Custom of mixing the Elements so far prevailed in *England*, that *Ernulfus* or *Arnulphus*, Bishop of *Rochester*, Ann. 1120. wrote in defence of it; yet it was prohibited not long after, in a Synod at *Westminster*, Ann. 1175. Thus the Matter was bandied about, till at last the Council of *Constance*, as *Bona* thinks, wisely took away the Cup from the People. And so this Abuse of giving the Eucharist steeped in Wine, was cured with a worse Error,

VIZ.

viz. by denying one Part of the Sacrament wholly to the People.

Chap. 5.

III. The next Question may be, In what Posture they received the Communion? The Resolution of which must be in these three Conclusions. 1. That they sometimes received standing. 2. Sometimes kneeling. 3. Never sitting, as we read of. That they frequently received standing appears from *Dionysius of Alexandria*, who speaking of one who had often communicated among

Ep. ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 9.

the Faithful, represents him, *ἑστῆναι παρὰ τὴν ἑσθλάνην*, as standing at the Lord's Table; upon which *Valesius* remarks that it was the antient Custom: and *Habertus* undertakes to prove that the whole Liturgy was celebrated in that Posture. *Bona* owns the same for the *Greek Church*, tho he seems doubtful of the *Latin*. For the *Greek Church* he produces the Authority of *Chrysostom* and *Cyril of Jerusalem*; who bids his Communicant receive it bowing his Body in the Posture of Worship and Adoration: which tho some interpret kneeling, signifies standing with Inclination, or Bowing of the Body in the manner of Adoration. For so *Chry-*

Hom. 20. in 2 Cor.

*sofom* represents both Priest and People as standing at the Altar: And *St. Austin* also gives us the same Account. Upon which account it was usual for the Deacon, especially on such Days as this Posture was used, to call upon the People in some such Form of Admonition as that often mentioned by *St. Chrysostom* and in the *Constitutions*, *ἵπδοι σωμέν καλῶς*, Let us stand rightly and devoutly to offer our Sacrifices and Oblations. Some think

De Civ. Dei. l. 8. c. 27.

*Tertullian* also refers to this Posture, when he says, *Nonne solennior erit statio tua, si & ad Aram Dei steteris?* Will not your Station be the more solemn, if you also stand at the Altar of God? Tho indeed *Tertullian* in that Place seems to use the word *standing*, not to distinguish any particular Posture of Prayer, but only a longer Continuance of it on the Stationary Days or Half-Fasts, when they continued their Assemblies till three in the Afternoon: For on these Days, as we shall hear

Const. l. 8. c. 12.

De Orat. c. 14.

pre-

Book XV. presently, they prayed always kneeling, tho on other Days they did not; and therefore *Terrullian* could not mean that they pray'd standing on those Days, but only that they extended their Prayers a longer time on those Stationary Days than others. However, there is Evidence enough of this Custom without *Terrullian*; for it is further confirmed by a collateral Argument, That on the Lord's Day, and all the Days of *Pentecost*, they were obliged to pray standing, and in no other Posture, as has been shewn: Therefore it is reasonable to believe, that at all such times they receiv'd the Eucharist in the same Posture. But then on all other Days, and particularly on the stationary Days, it was the Custom of the whole Church to pray kneeling, as has likewise been shewn. And it is no less reasonable to believe, that they received the Communion in the same Posture as they prayed, tho there are not such full Proofs of this Practice.

As to *sitting*, there is no Example of it in any antient Writer. It has been shew'd before, that in many Churches they allow'd no sitting at all in time of divine Service: And it would then be unreasonable to think what was rejected at all other Times, should be admitted at the Communion.

IV. A Fourth Question is, Whether they us'd any Elevation of the Host for divine Adoration in the antient Church? To this it is plain that the most eminent of the antient Fathers have declar'd that the Change made in the Elements of Bread and Wine by Consecration is not such as destroys their Nature or Substance, but only alters their Qualities, and elevates them to a spiritual Use. Thus *Gregory Nyssen*, 'The Bread at first is but  
' common Bread; but when once it is sanctified  
' by the Holy Mystery, it is made and called the  
' Body of Christ. So the mystical Oil, and so  
' the Wine, tho they be things of little value be-  
' fore the Benediction, yet after their Sanctifica-  
' tion by the Spirit, they both of them work  
' Wonders. The same Power of the Word makes

De Bapt. Christ.  
t. 3.

‘ a Priest become honourable and venerable, when  
 ‘ he is separated from the Community of the Vul-  
 ‘ gar by a new Benediction. For he who before  
 ‘ was only one of the common People, is now  
 ‘ immediately become a Ruler and President, a  
 ‘ Teacher of Piety, and a Minister of the holy  
 ‘ Mysteries. And all these things he doth with-  
 ‘ out any Change in his Body or Shape ; for to  
 ‘ all outward appearance he is the same that he  
 ‘ was, but the Change is in his invisible Soul, by  
 ‘ an invisible Power and Grace.’ *Cyris of Jerusa-* Car. Myst. 3. n.3.  
*lem* uses the same Similitude and Illustration. And  
 St. *Chrysostom* also thus explains the two Natures of Ep. ad Cæsar.  
 Christ against the *Apollinarians*, that he had both  
 an human and divine Substance in reality, without  
 any Transformation or Confusion : ‘ As the  
 ‘ Bread, says he, before it is sanctify’d is call’d  
 ‘ Bread, but after the divine Grace has sanctified  
 ‘ it by the Mediation of the Priest, it is no longer  
 ‘ called Bread, but dignified with the Name of  
 ‘ the Body of the Lord, tho the Nature of Bread  
 ‘ remain in it, and they are not said to be two,  
 ‘ but one Body of the Son : So here the Divine  
 ‘ Nature residing or dwelling in the human Body,  
 ‘ they both together make one Son and one Per-  
 ‘ son.’ *Theodoret* lived not long after St. *Chry-*  
*stom*, and he as plainly says that the Bread and the Dial. 1. r. 42  
 Wine remain still in their own Nature after Con-  
 secration : ‘ Our Saviour, says he, would have  
 ‘ those who are Partakers of the Divine Myste-  
 ‘ ries not to mind the Nature of the things  
 ‘ they see, but by the Change of Names to be-  
 ‘ lieve that Change which is wrought by Grace.  
 ‘ For he that called his own natural Body Wheat  
 ‘ and Bread, and gave it the Name of a Vine, he  
 ‘ also honoured the visible Symbols or Elements  
 ‘ with the Name of his Body and Blood, not  
 ‘ changing their Nature, but adding Grace to Na-  
 ‘ ture.’ And in another Place he says, ‘ The  
 ‘ Mystical Symbols do not depart from their own  
 ‘ Nature after Consecration, but remain in their  
 ‘ former Substance, Figure and Form, and are  
 ‘ visible and palpable as they were before ; yet  
 ‘ they



## Book XV.

Ap. Phot. Cod.  
229.

Cont. Marc. l. i.  
c. 14.  
Id. l. 4. c. 40.

they are understood and believed to be what they are made, and are revered as those things which they are made. Compare therefore the Image with the Original, and thou shalt see their Likeness. For the Type must answer to the Truth. That Body has the same Form, and Figure, and Circumscription, and, in a word, has the same Substance of a Body that it had before; but it is immortal after the Resurrection, and is freed from all Corruption, and sits at God's Right Hand, and is adored by every Creature, as being called the Body of the Lord of Nature.' *Ephrem*, Bishop of *Antioch*, *An.* 540. about a hundred Years after *Theodoret*, speaks much to the same purpose; and the *Latin* Fathers are not less clear and pertinent. *Tertulian* calls it *Bread representing the Lord's Body*; and the *Figure of his Body*; teaching us also to trust to the Testimony of our Senses in this and many other things relating to Christ: 'We are not, says he, to call in question those Senses of ours, lest we begin to doubt of the Certainty of the very things that are related of Christ, whether he was not deceived when he saw Satan fall from Heaven, or when he heard the Father's Voice testifying of him, or when he touched the Hand of *Peter's* Mother, or when he smelled the Spirit of the Ointment which he accepted to his Burial, or when he tasted the Wine that he consecrated to be the Memorial of his Blood. *St. John* argues upon the Testimony of our Senses, *What we have seen, what we have heard, what we have seen with our Eyes, and our Hands have handled of the Word of Life.* But this Attestation is false, if our Senses may be deceived in the Nature of things, which we see with our Eyes, and hear with our Ears, and touch with our Hands.'

Fulg. de Bapt.  
Æth. c. 11. Bed.  
in 1 Cor. 10.  
Bert. de Corp. &  
Saug. Dom.

*St. Austin* uses the same Argument in one of his Homilies to the newly baptized, which tho it be not now in his Works, yet it is preserved by *Fulgentius*, and *Bede*, and *Bertram*. Here, instructing them about the Sacrament, he tells them, 'That

‘ That what they saw upon the Altar was Bread  
‘ and the Cup, as their own Eyes could testify to  
‘ them : But what their Faith required to be in-  
‘ structed about, was, that the Bread is the Body  
‘ of Christ, and the Cup the Blood of Christ.  
‘ But such a Thought as this will presently arise  
‘ in your Hearts : Christ took his Body into Hea-  
‘ ven, whence he shall come to judge both the  
‘ Quick and the Dead ; and there he now sits at  
‘ the Right Hand of the Father : How then is  
‘ Bread his Body ? Or how is the Cup, or that  
‘ which is contained in the Cup, his Blood ?  
‘ These things, my Brethren, are therefore called  
‘ Sacraments, because in them one thing is seen,  
‘ and another understood. That which is seen has  
‘ a bodily Appearance ; that which is understood  
‘ has a spiritual Fruit : If therefore ye would un-  
‘ derstand the Body of Christ, hear what the  
‘ Apostle says to the Faithful, *Ye are the Body of*  
‘ *Christ, and his Members.* If therefore ye be the  
‘ Body and Members of Christ, your Mystery or  
‘ Sacrament is laid upon the Lord’s Table, ye re-  
‘ ceive the Sacrament of the Lord. Ye answer  
‘ *Amen* to what ye are, and by your Answer sub-  
‘ scribe to the Truth of it. Thou hearest the Mi-  
‘ nister say to thee, *The Body of Christ*, and thou  
‘ answerest, *Amen.* Be thou a Member of the  
‘ Body of Christ, that thy *Amen* may be true.  
‘ But why then is this Mystery in Bread ? Let us  
‘ here bring nothing of our own, but hear the  
‘ Apostle speak again. When he therefore speaks  
‘ of this Sacrament, he says, *We being many, are*  
‘ *one Bread and one Body.* Understand and rejoice.  
‘ We being many, are Unity, Piety, Truth, and  
‘ Charity, one Bread and one Body. Recollect and  
‘ consider that the Bread is not made of one Grain,  
‘ but of many. When ye were exorcised, ye were  
‘ then, as it were, ground ; when ye were bap-  
‘ tized, ye were, as it were, sprinkled or mixed  
‘ and wet together into one Mass ; when ye re-  
‘ ceived the Fire of the Holy Ghost, ye were, as  
‘ it were, baked. Be ye therefore what ye see,  
‘ and receive what ye are.’ From this Passage of  
St.

Book XV. St. *Austin*, it is plain, 1. That it was Bread and Wine that was upon the Altar. 2. That this very Bread and Wine is the Body and Blood of Christ: consequently it could not be his natural Body in the Substance, but only sacramentally. 3. He says the natural Body of Christ is only in Heaven: But the Sacrament has the Name of his Body; because tho in outward, visible, and corporeal Appearance, it is only Bread, yet it is attended with a spiritual Fruit. Lastly, he says that the Sacrament is not only a Representative of the natural Body of Christ, but also of the Mystical Body, the Church; and that as a Symbol of the Church's Unity, it is called the Body of Christ in this Sense as well as the other. So that if there were any real Transubstantiation, the Bread must be changed into the Mystical Body of Christ, that is, his Church, as well as into the Body natural.

De duob. Nat.  
cont. Nest.

The next irrefragable Testimony is that of Pope *Gelasius*, who wrote against the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* about the Reality of the two Natures in Christ, *Ann.* 490. where he thus proves them: " Doubtless the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ which we receive, are a divine thing; and therefore by them we are made Partakers of the Divine Nature, and yet the Substance and Nature of Bread and Wine do not cease to be in them. And indeed the Image and Similitude of the Body and Blood of Christ is celebrated in the mysterious Action. By this therefore is evidently shewed us, that we are to believe the same thing in our Lord Christ, as we profess, and celebrate, and take in his Image: That as by the perfecting Virtue of the Holy Ghost the Elements pass into a divine Substance, whilst their Nature still remains in its own Propriety; so in that principal Mystery (the Union of the Divine and Human Nature) whose Efficacy and Power these represent, there remains one true and perfect Christ, both Natures, of which he consists, continuing in their Properties unchangeable."

Some

Some time after *Gelasius* lived *Facundus* an African Bishop, about the Year 550. he wrote to excuse *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, for saying, That *Christ* received the Adoption of Sons; which he does after this manner: 'Christ vouchsafed to receive the Sacrament of Adoption, both when he was circumcised, and when he was baptized. Now the Sacrament of Adoption may be called Adoption, as we call the Sacrament his Body and Blood, not because the Bread is properly his Body, or the Cup his Blood; but because they contain the Mystery of his Body and Blood. Whence our Saviour, when he blessed the Bread and Cup, and gave them to his Disciples, called them his Body and Blood.'

To these we may add the Testimony of *Isidore* Bishop of *Sevil*, about the Year 630, who, speaking of the Rites of the Church, says, 'The Bread, because it nourishes and strengthens our Bodies, is therefore called the Body of Christ; and the Wine, because it creates Blood in our Flesh, is called the Blood of Christ. Now these two things are visible, but being sanctify'd by the Holy Ghost, they become the Sacrament of the Lord's Body.' By all which it is evident that the Antients did not know any thing of Transubstantiation, but believed that the Bread and Wine still remained in the *Eucharist* in their proper Nature. And *Albertin* shews that one *Stephanus Eduensis* was the first Inventer of the Name *Transubstantion*, who living not long before the Council of *Lateran*, it was established by them, *Ann.* 1215. whereas before that they rather believed an Impanation or Concomitancy of the Body with the Bread still remaining.

De Eccl. Offic.  
l. 1. c. 18.

De Euch. l. 3.

But as the Antients knew nothing of Transubstantiation; so it follows that they could not adore the *Eucharist* with divine Adoration: neither did they indeed elevate it upon any account for many Ages, much less for Adoration. Some indeed cite the Testimonies of *St. Basil*, and *Germanus* Bishop of *Constantinople* about the Year 715, for the Custom of elevating the *Eucharist*.

Vol. H.

R

But



Book XV. But for St. *Basil*, they corrupt his Meaning ; and they cite *Germanus* but only in part, to serve a turn : For tho he does indeed speak of elevating the Host after Consecration (and he is the first that mentions it among the *Greeks*) he gives another Reason for it, and not that of the Peoples Adoration. He says, It was to represent our Saviour's Elevation upon the Cross, and his Dying there, together with his Rising from the Dead. And for the *Latin Church*, till the eleventh Century, there is not the least mention of it among the Ritualists ; when some others speak of it, giving the same Reason as *Germanus* did. The first Writer that makes it for Adoration, as Mr. *Daille* proves at large, is *Gulielmus Durantus*, about the Year 1386. And *Bona* confesses he cannot trace the Original of this Custom higher than *Ivo*, *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Hildebert* of *Tours*, who make mention of ringing a Bell at this Elevation, in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, when they lived.

German. Theor.  
Rer. Divin.

De Obj. Cult. 1.  
2. c. 6.

In distributing the Elements, the People were allowed to receive them into their own Hands ; which is another strong Presumption that the Antients had very different Sentiments of the Eucharist from those which now prevail in the *Roman Church*. As to Fact, there is no Dispute of the Matter. The Custom of washing the Hands before Communion, in order to receive it, the frequent Admonitions to beware of letting it fall, the Allowance of private Men to carry it home with them, the sending it to the Sick sometimes by private Men, which we have spoken of before, do all bear Testimony to the same Practice.

It is farther observable, that in this Case no distinction was made between Men, Women, and Children, but all received it into their own Hands who were capable of so doing. Only in the latter end of the sixth Century we find a Rule made about Women, that they should not receive it in their bare Hand, but in a fair Linen Cloth. Some think this as antient as St. *Austin's* time ; but whether it was so or no, the Council of

Can. 36.

*Auxerre,*

*Auxerre, Ann.* 590. made a Rule for it: tho the Manner in which a Woman should receive it in her Hand is not said. Some think it was so, because another Canon in that Council orders them Can. 42. to receive wearing a *Dominicale*, which they interpret a Linen Cloth upon their Hand: But *Baluzius* says that only means a Veil they were obliged to wear by the antient Canons, conformable to the Rule of the Apostle; and this he says is expressly stiled a Veil by the Council of *Mascon*. So that whatever Covering the Women used for their Hands when they received the Communion, it was a different thing from the *Dominicale*. The Council of *Trullo* speaks of some in the *Greek Church* who would not receive the Sacrament in their Hands, but in some little Instrument of Gold; but they condemn that Practice, ordering all to receive in their own Hands set in the Form of a Cross, as is appointed in *Cyrl's* Catechisms, and some others before them: And they threaten Suspension to any Priest that shall admit any Communicants to receive in the former manner. Can. 101. By which it is plain the *Greek Church* as yet allowed no such Alteration.

The next thing observable, is, That the Priest used a Form of Words at the Delivery of the Elements, to which the People said *Amen*. The Form seems at first to have been only *The Body of Christ*; and, *The Blood of Christ*: To each of which the People answer'd, *Amen*. *Cornelius*, Bishop of *Rome*, not long after *Tertullian's* Ap. Euseb. l. 6. c. 43. time, speaks expressly of it; for he says, *Novatian* was used to make the People of his Party swear by the Body and Blood of Christ, when he deliver'd the Eucharist to them, that they would not forsake his Party and go over to *Cornelius*: So, says he, every Man instead of saying *Amen*, when he takes the Bread, is forced to say, *I will not return to Cornelius*. The Author of the *Constitutions* L. 8. c. 13. speaks of this Form: 'Let the Bishop give the Oblation, saying, *The Body of Christ*; and let the Receiver answer, *Amen*. Let the Deacon hold the Cup, and when he gives it, say, *The*

Book XV. *‘ Blood of Christ, the Cup of Life ; and let him that drinks it, say, Amen.’* The same is mentioned

Aug. cont. Faust.  
l. 12. c. 10.

by St. Cyril, St. Ambrose, and by St. Austin, who notes it as the general Practice of the whole World. The same is observed by St. Jerom, Leo Magnus, and many others. But by the Time of Gregory the Great the Form was a little enlarged ; for then they said, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy Soul.* And by the Time of Alcuin and Charles the Great, it was augmented into this Form, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy Soul unto everlasting Life ;* which is much the same with the former Part of that now used in our Liturgy. The Scots Liturgy also orders the People to answer *Amen*, which we see is conformable to antient Practice.

We have already heard how Novatian abused the Eucharist to strengthen his Schism ; and it was a like Abuse that was some time allowed in the superstitious Times of Popery, under the general Notion of many other superstitious Practices, called Canonical Purgations. Which was, that when any one was suspected of a Crime, he was to purge himself by taking the Sacrament upon it. This was order'd by the Council of Worms ; tho it was justly reckoned a great Abuse by all sober Men. Antonius Augustinus ascribes it to the Corruption of those Times ; for that by Laws before, suspected Persons were not admitted to the Communion : And therefore he says this Canon was of no Force, being disannulled in Law. So that it was an Abuse, tho it had Synodical Authority to enjoin the Practice.

During the time of Communion, while the Elements were distributed to the People, it was usual for the Singers, or all the People, to sing some suitable Psalm. The 33d, which in our Division is the 34th, is prescribed by the Constitutions and St. Cyril. St. Jerom speaks of that, and the 45th, this being a Psalm peculiarly setting forth the Praises of Christ, and the Affection of the Church towards him. In Africk they seem to have delighted much in this Custom. St. Aus-

Can. 15. ap.  
Grat.

De Emend. Grat.  
l. 1. Dial. 15.

Const. l. 8 c. 13.  
Cyr. Cat. 5. n. 17.

tin writ a Book in Vindication of it; and both he and *Tertullian* seem to intimate that among other Psalms they sung the hundred thirty third, *Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, &c.* St. *Austin* seems to hint also the thirty third, and St. *Chrysostom* the 145th, upon this occasion. In St. *James's* Liturgy the Words of the 34th Psalm, *O taste, and see that the Lord is gracious*, are appointed to be sung by the Singers; and St. *Mark's* Liturgy appoints the 45th. In some ancient Rituals the 145th is appointed, as appears from *Cotelerius*. So that tho the Custom was universal, the particular Psalms varied, according to the Choice of the *Præcentor*, or the different Rules and Usages of different Churches.



C H A P. VI.

Of their Post-Communion Service.

**W**HEN all the People had communicated, the Remains were sent in to the *Pastophoria*, or Place appointed for their Reception. Then the Deacon admonished the People to return thanks in the following Form, as it is in the *Constitutions*: 'Now that we have received the precious Body and the precious Blood of Christ, let us give thanks to him who hath vouchsafen to make us Partakers of his holy Mysteries; and let us beseech him that they may not be to our Condemnation, but Salvation, for the Benefit of our Soul and Body, for the Preservation of us in Piety, for the Remission of our Sins, and obtaining of the Life of the World to come.' Then he bids them rise up, and commend themselves to

L. 8. c. 14.



Book XV. God by Christ. Then the Bishop makes a Prayer of Thanksgiving, and Commendation of the People to God in the following Words.

‘ O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy Christ, thy blessed Son; who hearest those that with an upright Heart call upon thee, who knowest the Supplications of those who in Silence pray unto thee: we give thee Thanks for that thou hast vouchsafed to make us Partakers of thy holy Mysteries, which thou hast given us for the Confirmation or full Assurance of those things, which we stedfastly believe and know, for the Preservation of our Piety, for the Remission of our Sins; because the Name of thy Christ is called upon by us, and we are united unto thee. Thou hast separated us from the Communion of the ungodly; therefore unite us with them who are sanctified unto thee; confirm us in thy Truth by the coming of thy Holy Spirit, and his Resting upon us; reveal unto us what things we are ignorant of, supply what we are deficient in, and strengthen us in what we know. Preserve thy Priests unblameable in thy Service, keep our Princes in Peace, our Governors in Righteousness, the Air in good Temperature, the Fruits of the Earth in Plenty, and the whole World by thy Almighty Providence. Pacify the Nations which are inclined to War, convert those who go astray, sanctify thy People, preserve those who are in Virginity, keep those who are married in thy Faith, strengthen those who are in Chastity, bring Infants to mature Age, confirm those who are newly baptized, instruct the Catechumens, and make them fit and worthy of Baptism; and gather us all into the Kingdom of Heaven, thro Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom unto Thee and the Holy Spirit be Glory, Honour, and Adoration, World without End, Amen.’

After this the Deacon bids the People bow their Heads to God in *Christ*, and receive the Benediction. Then the Bishop pronounces the Benediction in the following Prayer: ‘ Almighty God  
‘ and

and true, with whom no one can compare,  
 who art every where, and present unto all, yet  
 not in them as Things of which they consist;  
 who art circumscribed by no Place, not grown  
 old with Time, nor bounded by Ages; who  
 art without Generation, and needest no Pre-  
 server; who art above all Corruption, unca-  
 pable of Change, and unalterable by Nature;  
 who dwellest in Light which no one can ap-  
 proach unto, and art invifible by Nature; who  
 art known to all rational Natures which seek  
 thee with an upright Heart, and art apprehen-  
 ded by thofe who fearch after thee with a pure  
 Mind: O thou God of *Israel*, the *Israel* that  
 truly fees thee, and the People that believes in  
*Chrift*, fhew thy felf propitious, and hear me  
 for thy Name's fake; blefs this People who bow  
 their Necks unto thee, and grant them the Pe-  
 titions of their Heart, which are expedient for  
 them, and fuffer none of them to fall from thy  
 Kingdom; but fanctify them, keep and pro-  
 tect, help and deliver them from the Adverfa-  
 ry, and from every Enemy; preferve their  
 Houfes, and defend their going out, and their  
 coming in. For to Thee belongs Glory, Praife,  
 Majefty, Worship and Adoration; and to thy  
 Son *Jesus*, thy *Chrift*, our Lord and God and  
 King; and to the Holy Spirit, now and for e-  
 ver, World without End, Amen.

After this the Deacon ufed this fhort Form of  
 Words, ἀπολύετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ πορεύετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *De-  
 part in Peace, or Go in Peace*; and this concluded  
 the whole Service. *St. Chysoftom* particularly  
 takes notice of the Deacon's ufing this Form at  
 the Difmiffion of the Affembly, which he calls a  
 Prayer. Whence we may learn that they did not  
 ufe it as an empty Form, but as a fhort folemn  
 Prayer of Benediction.

*Hom. 52. in eos  
 qui Pafcha jejun.*

As for the other Prayers ufed in this part of  
 the Service, we have no particular Account of  
 them in other Writers; only in general, that  
 fuch were ufed after the Communion. *St. Auguftin*  
 fays, when all was ended, and every one had re-

*Ep. 59. ad Paul.*

## Book XV.

Cat. 5. n. 19.

Hom. 34. de Bap.  
Christ.

L. 7. c. 26.

ceived the Communion, a solemn Thanksgiving concluded the whole Action. And Cyril of Jerusalem orders his new Communicant to stay till that was over : and St. Chrysostom sharply rebukes such as did not, intimating that they had not only Prayers, but also Psalms and Hymns of Thanksgiving, in imitation of our Saviour and his Apostles. 'Tis true, the Author of the *Constitutions* takes no notice of Psalms or Hymns in the forementioned Place; but in another Place, where he has a Prayer *μετὰ τὴν μεσσησίαν*, after Participation, besides the Thanksgiving, there is an Order to sing *Maranatha*, that is, *The Kingdom of God or the Lord cometh* : and also *Hosanna to the Son of David*. *Blessed be the Lord our God, who was manifested to us in the Flesh*. Which seems to imply the different Usage of different Churches. In the old *Gothick Missal* there are but two Prayers after the Communion, one call'd *Post Communionem*, and the other *Collectio*, the Collect or Concluding Prayer. And it is much the same in the *Mosarabick Liturgy*. But in the *Greek of St. James* there are several short Hymns and Praises collected out of the Psalms and other Scriptures appointed to be said after the Communion. And it is observable, that in all the antient Forms the Thanksgiving Prayers are always in the Plural Number, representing the whole Body of the Communicants in that Service ; which is a sufficient Argument that there were no solitary Masses at that time.





## C H A P. VII.

*How the Remains of the Eucharist were disposed of: And of their common Entertainment called Agape, or Feast of Charity.*

**T**HAT some Part of the Eucharist was commonly reserved for several Uses, as for the Absent and the Sick, and to testify the Communion of distant Churches one with another, has been shewn. And this was one way they had of disposing of the Remains. But if any thing was over and above what was necessary for these Uses, it was to be divided among the Communicants, as appears from the Canons of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*; by which no Catechumen was to eat or drink of them. Yet sometimes these Remains were distributed among the innocent Children of the Church. And thus it was appointed by the second Council of *Mascon* in *France*, Anno 588, By that Council he that had the Care of the Remains was to lay them up in the Vestry till the Wednesday or Friday, and was then to bring the Children to Church fasting, and sprinkling the Remains with Wine make them all partake of them. And *Evagrius* says this was the Custom of old at *Constantinople*, and that they were used to call the Children who went to School, and to distribute the Remains among them. The same is related by *Gregory of Tours*, and *Nicephorus Callistus*, who also adds, that the Custom continued at *Constantinople* in his own time, that is, the middle of the fourteenth Century,

Can. 3.

Can. 6.

L. 4. c. 36.

Greg. de Glor.  
Mart. l. 1. c. 10.  
Nic. l. 17. c. 25.



## Book XV.

Hesyc, in Lev.  
l. 2.

tory. In the Church of *Jerusalem*, in the fifth Century while *Hesychius* was Presbyter there, they us'd to burn the Remains of the Eucharist with Fire, in imitation of the *Levitical* Law concerning the Sacrifices of Peace-Offerings and Vows. From which our learned Writers observe two things: 1. That the Church of *Jerusalem* did not reserve the Eucharist so much as from Day to Day; tho they did in some other Churches. 2. That they did not believe it to be the natural Body and Substance of Christ, because they treated it in such a manner.

Hom. 27. in 1 Cor.

In 1 Cor. 11. 20.

Primitive Chris.  
part 1. ch. 11.

As for the other Oblations, it has been observed that some Part of these went towards the Maintenance of the Clergy: Out of the rest a common Entertainment was usually made, which they called *Agape*, or Feast of Charity, because it was a liberal Collation of the rich to feed the poor. St. *Chrysostom* derives this from Apostolical Practice, and says that they held this Feast immediately after the Communion, and in the Church; that they made a common Table; and that from this Fellowship in eating, and the Reverence of the Place, they were all strictly united in Charity one with another, and much Pleasure and Profit arose thence to them all. St. *Jerom* gives the same account; and the like is said by *Theodoret*, *OEcumenius*, *Theophylact*, and others. From whence it is plain, that this was a Rite always accompanying the Communion. But whether they kept these Feasts before or after the Communion, in the Apostles time, is a Doubt among some modern Writers. Dr. *Cave* thinks that in the Apostles time, and the Age after, this Feast was before the Communion, in imitation of our Saviour's Institution, who celebrated the Sacrament after Supper: and St. *Paul* taxing the Abuses of the Church of *Corinth*, reproves them for that, when they came together for the Lord's Supper, they did not tarry one for another, but every one took his own Supper, and one was hungry, and another was drunken. All this, he says, must needs be done before the Celebration of the Eucharist,

charist, which was never administred till the whole Church was met together. In this Opinion he has the Concurrence of several learned Men: Tho' what seems most probable is, That they observed no certain Rule about it. For in the times of Persecution, when the Christians were obliged to meet in the Morning before Day to celebrate the Eucharist, their Feasting before Communion could not well comport with that. And therefore in the Beginning of the second Century we find the Eucharist was received before: For so *Pliny* represents it in the Account L. 10. Ep. which he had from the Christians, in the Entrance of this Century; That they met on the Lord's Day to sing Hymns to Christ, and bind themselves by a Sacrament; then they departed, and met again to partake of an Entertainment, very innocent, and common to all. And so *Tertullian* Apol. c. 39. speaks of it, as a Supper a little before Night: 'Our Supper, says he, which you accuse of Luxury, shews its Reason in its very Name: For it is called *Ἀγάπη*, which among the *Greeks* signifies Love. Whatever Charge we are at, it is Gain to be at expence upon the account of Piety; for we therewith relieve and refresh the poor. There is nothing vile or immodest committed in it: For we do not sit down before we have first offered up Prayer to God; we eat only to satisfy Hunger, and drink only so much as becomes modest Persons. We fill ourselves in such manner, as that we remember still that we are to worship God by Night. We discourse as in the presence of God, knowing that he hears us. Then after Water to wash our Hands, and Lights brought in, every one is moved to sing some Hymn to God, either out of Scripture, or as he is able of his own composing: And by this we judge whether he has observed the Rules of Temperance in drinking. Prayer again concludes our Feast; and thence we depart, &c.' The particular mention made of Lights and worshipping God by Night, shews that they came after the Communion,

Book XV. nion, and not before, in *Tertullian's* Time ; when they used to receive the Communion in the Morning, and always Fasting, even upon those Days when they defer'd it till Three in the Afternoon, as upon the Stationary Days, or till Six at Night. For it was a Rule in the *African Church* always to receive it Fasting, except on the *Thursday* before *Easter*, commonly called *Cæna Domini*, because it was the Day on which our Saviour celebrated his last Supper, and he instituted the *Eucharist* after Supper. The third Council of *Carthage* had an express Canon to this purpose. *St. Austin* was a Member of this Council, and he assures us that this Decree was conformable to the Practice of the Universal Church in his Age, which he thought to be derived from the Appointment of the Apostles. *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Basil*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and many other of the *Greek Writers*, speak much to the same purpose. Among the *Latins* there are several Canons of the Councils of *Braga*, *Mascon*, *Auxerre*, and *Toledo*, to this purpose ; only that some of them disallow the Custom of receiving after eating on the *Thursday* in *Passion-Week*, upon the account of the *Priscillianists*. *Socrates* observes it as a singular thing in the Churches of *Egypt* and *Thebais*, that they administer'd the *Eucharist* on *Saturday* Evenings, after eating : which is prohibited by the Council of *Trullo*, not excepting the *Thursday* in *Passion-Week*. From all which it appears that the *Eucharist* was received fasting ; and consequently that the *Love-Feasts* must be held after the Communion.

These Love-Feasts for the three first Centuries were held in the Church, as learned Men conclude from that Canon of the Council of *Gangra*, made against the *Eustathians*, thus : ' If any one despises the Feasts of Charity which the Faithful make, who for the Honour of the Lord call their Brethren to them, and comes not to the Invitation, because he contemns them, let him be *Anathema*.' Now these *Eustathians* were Men who held their Meetings in private Houses, and despised the Church ; which is the reason of this

Can. 29.

Ep. 118. ad Jan.

L. 5. c. 22.

Can. 17.

this Canon made against them. However, there were such Abuses sometimes at these Feasts, that the Council of *Laodicea* not long after excluded them the Church. A like Decree was made in the third Council of *Carthage*: but the Custom was too inveterate to be rooted out at once; and therefore we find that in St. *Austin's* time they were still kept in the Church: Tho he says all kinds of Feasting in the Church were prohibited by St. *Ambrose* at *Milan* with good Success. And it was he himself that advised *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, to make the foresaid Canon, in hopes to extirpate it, after the Example of St. *Ambrose*. In the *French* Churches it was prohibited by the second Council of *Orleans*, Ann. 341. Yet in the seventh Century some Remains of it appear'd, which obliged the Council of *Trullo* to reinforce the Canon of *Laodicea*, under pain of Excommunication.

Can. 28.

Can. 30.

Aug. cont. Faust.  
l. 20. c. 20.

Can. 12.

Can. 74.

This Custom, as it was innocent in its Original, and the Envy and Admiration of the Heathen, whilst it continued free from Abuses, so it had its Enemies who accused it as a Covert for black Designs. *Celsus* charged the Christians with holding private and seditious Cabals upon this score.

Orig. cont. Cels.  
l. 1.

Others charged them with Uncleanness. While others added that monstrous Fable of their feeding upon human Flesh. The Reason of this Charge is, by many of the Antients, ascribed to the vile Practices of the *Carpocratians* and other Hereticks, at least tacitly or indirectly, whilst they accule them of this Crime, which the Heathens turned upon the Christians in general.

Epiph. Hær. 26.  
Gnostic.

*OEcumenius* ascribes it to another Reason: He says, in the Persecution of the Christians at *Lyons* under *Antoninus*, the Heathens having apprehended some Servants of certain Christian Catechumens,

OEcum. in 1 Pet.  
3. 16.

they put them to the Rack to make them confess some Secret of the Christians; and they having heard their Masters say that the Holy Communion was the Body and Blood of Christ, and supposing it to be truly Flesh and Blood, to gratify the Inquisitors, they told them what they heard. The Heathens understanding this as if

the



## Book XV.



the Christians had really eat Flesh and Blood, put two of the Martyrs, *Sanctus* and *Blandina*, to the Rack, to make them confess it; to whom *Blandina* smartly replied, How should they endure to do this, who for Exercise sake abstain from such Flesh as they might lawfully eat? But this, if true, would not prove what the *Romanists* would have from it; That the Ground of the Fable was the real Belief of the Christians, as if they believed the Eucharist to be the real proper Flesh and Blood of Christ: For this is expressly said to be only a false Apprehension of the Heathens, and is utterly denied by the Christians, as *OEcumenius* relates the Story. Which yet is something different from the genuine Acts in *Eusebius*, in which there is no mention made of the Eucharist in the Story; but it is only said, That the Servants fearing Tortures, did accuse their Masters of eating Man's Flesh, committing Incest, and other like Things, which are hardly credible of any Men whatsoever.

However, tho' these Feasts were thus calumniated by some, among others they had their good Effects, insomuch that sometimes the Heathen, and among them even *Julian* himself, were obliged to confess the Usefulness of them. And happy had it been if there had never been occasion for any just Objection against them.

Jul. Frag. Epist.



CHAP.



C H A P. VIII.

*What Preparation the Antients required as necessary in Communicants, to qualify them for a worthy Reception.*

**T**H E Preparation required as necessary in every Christian, was the Performance of the Conditions which every Man laid upon himself in Baptism, *i. e.* a Life of Holiness. But then, as in many things we offend all, they did not require that Holiness to be unerring, without those lesser Sins of human Frailty and Infirmary which are called Sins of daily Incurfion, without which no Man lives; but only for a Man to be free from all habitual and reigning Sins, or such fingle Acts of greater Sins, as are answerable to Habits of Sin, and require a more severe Repentance. Upon this account the Antients carefully taught Men to distinguish between such enormous Sins as were inconsistent with a State of Grace, and unqualified Men for the Communion, and such as were consistent with that State, and did not hinder from constant Communion. This Doctrine and Distinction of Sins is often inculcated by St. *Austin* and others. It will be sufficient to hear their Sense in St. *Austin's* Words: De. Symb. l. 1. c. 7.  
Speaking to the Catechumens, he tells them,  
' When they had received Baptism, they should  
' be careful to preserve a good Life in the Com-  
' mands of God, that they might keep their  
' Baptism to the End. I do not say that ye  
' should live here without Sin; but there are  
' some venial Sins without which we cannot live  
' in this Life. Baptism is appointed for all Sins,  
' both great and small; but for lesser Sins, with-  
' out

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out which we cannot live, Prayer is appointed. What says the Prayer? *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* We are once cleansed by Baptism, we are every day cleansed by Prayer: But we do not commit those things for which it will be necessary for you to be separated from the Body of Christ; which God forbid. For those whom ye see doing Penance, have committed great Crimes, either Adultery, or some other grievous Sins, for which they do Penance: For if their Transgressions had been light, the daily Prayer had been sufficient to blot them out.—By this we may judge that Sins of Infirmary were reckoned no formal Breaches of the Baptismal Covenant, nor consequently any just Impediments to debar a Man from daily Communion. But then for all the greater Offences, such as were direct Violations of the baptismal Covenant, for such the usual Discipline of the Church debarred Men from Communion and Prayers, according to the Quality of the Offence; for one, two, three, or more Years. All this time they were obliged constantly to attend the Church, and all kinds of religious Exercises, to demonstrate they were acting a sincere Part in the Business of Repentance; and according to their Zeal, &c. a Judgment was made upon their Sincerity, and they were reconciled to the Church.

The particular Crimes that were deemed Breaches of the baptismal Covenant, and were sufficient to debar Men from making their Oblations at the Altar, and much more from communicating, have been spoken of before, and will come to be consider'd more exactly under the Discipline of the Church. And therefore let it suffice here to observe in general, that the Rules of the Church laid an Obligation upon all Ministers of the Altar to refuse the Communion to all such notorious Offenders as were declared unworthy of it by the standing Laws of Communion then known to all in the Church; and that an over-hasty Admittance of such Criminals was always reckon'd

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reckoned a great Transgression in the Minister:

Let no cruel Person, says *St. Chrysostom*, no un-

merciful, no impure Soul come near this Table.

I speak this as well to you that receive the Eu-

charist, as to you that minister. For it is ne-

cessary to say this to you that minister, that ye

may distribute the Gifts with great Care. There

is no small Punishment hangs over your Heads,

if ye give the Eucharist knowingly to any flagi-

tious Man; his Blood shall be required at your

hands: Tho it be a General, tho it be a Consul,

tho it be him that wears the Crown, if he comes

unworthily, restrain him; thou hast greater

Power than he. But you will say, How shall I

know what such a one is? I speak not of those

that are unknown, but of those that are known.

I will say a fearful Word; It is not so bad to

admit Energumens, or Persons possessed with a

Devil, to this Holy Place, as those Men, who,

as *St. Paul* says, tread Christ under foot, &c.

Let us not therefore cast out Demoniacks only,

but all such as come unworthily to be Partakers

of this Table. *St. Ambrose* says, 'Some Men de-

sire to be admitted to Penance only for this rea-

son, that they may presently receive the Com-

munion again. These Men do not desire to be

absolved themselves, so much as to bind the

Priest; for they do not put off their own evil

Conscience. Such a rash Act in a Priest, in

receiving a notorious Criminal without any

clear Evidences and Fruits of Repentance, puts

him in the Sinner's Condition, and makes him

a Criminal before God, for the Abuse of the

Authority committed to him. Therefore, as

the *Novatians* were generally condemned for

being too rigorous in denying the Communion

for ever to all such as fall into great Sins after

Baptism; so the *Audian* Hereticks are censured

for being too hasty in assuming Authority to

pardon Sins by their own Power, and grant-

ing Remission upon a bare Confession, without

prescribing a Time for Repentance, as the Laws

of the Church always required. *Cyprian* is as

De Penit. l. 2.  
c. 9.

Ep. 10. ad Cler.

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severe



Book XV. severe in his Reproof to such of the Clergy as admitted Lapsers to Idolatry in time of Persecution; and he also wrote a long Discourse to the Lapsers themselves, wherein he largely sets forth the Fallacy that was put upon them by this too great Indulgence, which he says did not really give them Peace, but destroy it; nor grant them true Communion, but hinder their Salvation. From all which it is evident, that to reconcile a Sinner at the Altar after publick Crimes, was a Work of Time, and required a long Penance.

De Fid. & Op.  
c. 26.

But beside these heinous Crimes, there were others, which tho they did not go so far as publick Censures, yet unqualified Men for worthy receiving. Among these St. *Austin* reckons Anger and Evil-speaking; to which others add rash Swearing, Breach of Promise, Lying, Covetousness, Drunkenness, and Sins of the like nature. And tho the Antients did not forcibly repel such Sinners from communicating, yet they never failed to stave them off by Admonitions and Reproofs, and to shew the Danger of them as well as others of the highest Nature.

This was their constant Way of proceeding with great Sinners, when their Crimes were publick; but as to private Sins they required no other Confession of them, but to God alone, as of Necessity towards a worthy Communicating. They sometimes indeed advised Men to a publick Confession of private Sins; and in some Places a publick Minister, called the *Penitentiary*, was appointed to hear them: but such Confession was not exacted as a Term of Communion; much less did they enjoin Auricular Confession to obtain private Absolution of a Priest, and do Penance afterward, without giving present Evidence of their Repentance. Their private Confessions were all voluntary, and these chiefly in order to publick Penance; but whether for publick or private Penance, the Confession of private Sins was Matter of free Choice, without any manner of Obligation. But this also will fall more aptly under the Head of the Discipline of the Church. Only it may be proper to

to observe, That *Nectarius*, St. *Chrysostom*'s Predecessor, put down the Office of Penitentiary Priest, by a Law for that purpose, giving leave to every one, upon the private Examination of his own Conscience, to partake of the Holy Mysteries: Which evidently shews they did not then believe there was any divine Law for the Necessity of Auricular Confession, but that it was a Matter of Liberty and Prudence only. *Socrates* relates the whole Story of this Circumstance at large, and says he had it from *Eudamon* the Presbyter, who gave *Nectarius* that Advice; and *Sozomen* adds, that the Bishops of most other Churches followed the Example of *Nectarius*. It appears also from *Gennadius*, that it was a general Rule in the Latin Church to do publick Penance for all great Crimes of a publick Nature; but for private Crimes, a private Satisfaction by a Change of Life from Secular to Religious, was what was necessarily required. *Laurentius* Bishop of *Novaria*, speaking of Repentance, says, 'After Baptism God hath appointed thee a Remedy within thy self, he hath put Remission into thy own Power, that thou needest not to seek a Priest when Necessity requires; but thou thy self now, as a skilful Master always at hand, mayst correct thine own Error within thy self, and wash away thy Sin by Repentance.' Hence it appears that the Apostle's Rule was their Direction, *Let a Man examine himself*, &c. and that they did not require private Confession as any necessary Part of Preparation.

Yet this did not by any means discharge Men of all Obligation to cleanse themselves from Sin; for, notwithstanding, they continued still to press the Necessity of an universal Purity when Men came to the Sacrament: And when any were so vain as to think a formal Appearance at the Lord's Table, at solemn times, to be a sufficient Preparation, they ever declaimed most severely against them. St. *Chrysostom* in particular is very severe against such extravagant Notions, and utterly condemns the outward Observation of *Lent* and

L. 5. c. 19.

L. 7. c. 16.

De Dogm. Eccl. c. 53.

De Ren. Hom. 7.

Hom. 31. de Philog.

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other Seasons out of Custom more than Rule, or Reason and Understanding, which requires not a mere corporeal Purification, but a true Preparation of the Heart by the Purity of a Man's Conscience, and a sanctified Life.

It will be endless to transcribe all that the Antients have said upon this Head; let it therefore suffice, just to note the Particulars antiently required in every worthy Communicant. And,

1. They required *Faith*. Neither was it sufficient that every Communicant made a Profession of his Orthodoxy, but every one who was of Years of Discretion was obliged to profess his particular Faith with relation to the mystical eating and drinking of Christ's Body and Blood in the Holy Sacrament. The former is evident from that usual Form of Words in the Deacon's Admonition to all who had not a Right to communicate to withdraw; among whom all heterodox or heretical Persons were concluded: And the latter is very copiously set forth by St. *Austin*, where he explains the Doctrine of spiritual Manducation by Faith, upon those Words of our Saviour, *Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.* 'This,

Aug. de Doct.

Christ. l. 3. c. 10.

he says he, seems to command a Crime: Therefore it is a figurative Speech, commanding us to communicate in the Passion of our Lord, and with Pleasure and Profit to lay it up in our Minds, that his Flesh was crucified and wounded for our Transgressions.' And again, he brings in our Saviour telling his Disciples, 'Ye are not to eat this Body which ye see, and drink that Blood which my Crucifiers shall shed; but I have commended to you a certain Sacrament, which being spiritually understood, will quicken you, and tho it be celebrated to you visibly, it is invisibly or spiritually to be understood.' Meaning this Faith with which the Body of Christ was to be received, to make it spiritually and really the true Body, and Life to the Receiver.

Serm. 2. de Verb. Apost.

For the true Body of Christ could no otherwise be eaten but spiritually by Faith, whilst it was really

really absent in Heaven. The Hand could not reach that Body, nor the Teeth consume it; but Faith could ascend up to Heaven, and there touch the Body of Christ, and with the Heart it might be eaten, tho' not with the Teeth and oral Mastication. This therefore is that special Faith the Antients so often require in every pious Communicant; a Faith by which in Heart he ascends to Heaven, receives the real Body by spiritual eating, which no wicked Man can attain to, tho' he receives the Sacrament in his Hand and Mouth to his Condemnation.

2. They required a Purity of Heart by Repentance and Obedience; and this consisted in a correcting every evil Way, in Thought, Word, and Deed. This *St. Chrysostom* makes the End of all Fasting, *Lent*, Religious Assemblies, &c. that by these Exercises we may wash away the Guilt and Stain of whatever Sins we have contracted, and so come with Piety and spiritual Assurance to partake of that unbloody Sacrifice. And this he makes so necessary, that he says, if we do not thus purify our selves, all other Labour is in vain, and to no purpose; and that no Pretences of other Qualifications, without Holiness, will stand us in any stead.

Hom. 57. in Mat.

3. A third Qualification of a worthy Communicant was Justice and Restitution. And these are particularly enforced by *St. Chrysostom*, who lays such a stress upon them, that he makes them necessary before a Man can hope to gain the Favour of God, or be accepted at his Altar.

Id. ibid.

4. Another thing they insisted upon was Unity and a peaceable Spirit, in opposition, chiefly, to all Schisms, and Factions, and Divisions within the Bosom of the Church; tho' the Antients generally use this Argument against all uncharitable Strifes and Contentions, against all factious and turbulent Spirits whatsoever; which they assert to be Crimes of that Nature, that without Repentance even the Blood of Martyrdom will not wash away the Guilt of them.

5. Another thing they much recommended as a necessary Qualification in a Communicant, was the



Book XV. the Exercise of Beneficence and Charity to the Indigent, especially those of the Church. This was the Foundation of their Oblations and Love-Feasts; and the Neglect, or Abuse, or Partiality used in them, was reputed a capital Misdemeanour. But this was not all: They required Persons to be charitable at all times as well as at the Sacrament, nor would an Excuse be admittted for a Default on this part. However, this Qualification is particularly recommended and enforced also by St. *Chrysostom*.

6. But there was also a more difficult kind of Charity which they more strictly exacted, viz. the Duty of pardoning and forgiving Enemies, without which they held it absurd and impudent to presume to ask God's Pardon at the Holy Table. And this Duty is likewise most elegantly described by St. *Chrysostom*, and the Reasons of it very pathetically urged by him.

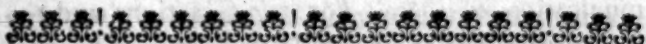
These were some of those necessary Qualifications they required in Men before they came to the Holy Communion. And at the time of Celebration, the very Offices of the Church were so framed as to elevate Mens Souls to the highest Pitch of Reverence, Devotion and Thankfulness, as may be seen in the Offices themselves before recited; so that there is no doubt to be made, but these Duties were particularly requir'd at the Lord's Table. Neither did they require their Deportment after receiving to be less exact. The Act of receiving was an Oblation of their Bodies and Souls to God; it was an Oath, or Bond and Covenant to do no Evil, but to exercise themselves in all manner of Virtue, as *Pliny* represents it from the Mouth of some Christians. Therefore *Chrysostom* represents elegantly as an Obligation upon every Member of the Body, to abstain from all Pollution and Impurity of Sin. But these things have been so largely insisted on by several, that it seems needless to say more of them; but only we may observe from these Hints, that the Antients always endeavoured by this Strictness to keep up in all Christians a perpetual and flaming Love

L. 10. Ep. 97.

Hom. 27. in  
1 Cor.

Love of Christ, which qualified them for a frequent Reception, and almost daily Repetition of it : which is the last thing to be considered in this whole Enquiry.

Chap. 9.



C H A P. IX.

*Of frequent Communion, and the Times of celebrating it in the Antient Church.*

**I**T is certain that in the Primitive Ages it was both the Rule and Practice for all in general, both Clergy and Laity, to receive the Communion every Lord's Day, except the unqualified, either as Catechumens or Penitents, or for want of Preparation. There are two of the Apostolical Canons to this purpose : The first says, ' If any Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon, or any other of the Clergy, does not communicate when the Oblation is offered, let him shew cause why he does not, that if it be a reasonable Cause he may be excused ; but if he shew no Cause, let him be excommunicated, as giving Scandal to the People, and raising Suspicion against him that offers.' And the next Canon says, ' If any of the faithful come to Church to hear the Scriptures read, and stay not to join in the Prayers and receive the Communion, let them be excommunicated, as the Authors of Disorder in the Church.' The Council of *Antioch*, in the middle of the fourth Century, repeats this Decree ; and all these Canons shew, that as often as they met together for divine Service on the Lord's Day, they were obliged to receive the Eucharist under pain of Excommunication. And all other Canons, which speak of the Order of divine Service, plainly shew that the Celebration of the Eucharist was always one inseparable Part

Can. 8.

Can. 9.

Can. 2.

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Can. 19, 49.

Can. 28.

Can. 13.

Ep. ad Ephes. n.  
13.

L. 10. Ep. 97.

Apol. 2.

S.rom. 1.

Taylor's Conf.  
Communion.

DeCor. Mil. c.3.

of it. This is plain from the Council of *Laodicea*, and some Passages in *St. Chrysostom*: and was so much the Practice of those Days, that the Council of *Eliberis* orders, that they who would not communicate should not be allowed to make their Oblations. Which was a sort of Excommunication of them: For the Oblations and the Eucharist commonly went together. The first Council of *Toledo* orders those who come to Church, but do not communicate, to be admonished: And if they amend not upon that, then to be reduced to the State of formal Penance for their Crime. The like Prescriptions are in other Councils: But these are sufficient to shew what was the standing Rule of the first Ages, as to constant weekly Communion.

And that this was the constant Practice of the three first Centuries appears from *Ignatius*, who exhorts the *Ephesians* to be diligent in assembling frequently to celebrate the Eucharist. This Frequency of Communion may reasonably be supposed then to be, according to the known Practice, on every Lord's Day: For on this Day *Pliny*, who was cotemporary with *Ignatius*, informs us, they were used to meet not only to sing Hymns to Christ, but to bind themselves by a Sacrament against the Commission of all manner of Wickedness. *Justin Martyr* says more expressly that it was so, and describes the Manner of their holding their Assemblies. *Clemens of Alexandria* gives the like account: And we shall find presently in the Writings of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Eusebius* and others, that there were other Days also appropriated to this Service. But about these the Churches varied: For on other Days some Churches celebrated the Eucharist, and others did not; but on the Lord's Day it was universally done: Insomuch that it has been observed out of *Chrysostom*, that Sunday was sometimes antiently called *Dies Panis*, the Day of Bread.

*Tertullian* observes that they did it particularly on the Anniversary Festivals of the Martyrs, and the fifty Days between Easter and Pentecost, which

which were but one continued Festival; and all their stationary Days, that is, Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the Year. *St. Basil* agrees with *Tertullian* in making the stationary Days also Days of Communion: For reckoning four Days in the Week on which they received the Communion, he counts Wednesdays and Fridays with Saturdays and Sundays to compleat the Number. And *Socrates* notes it as a peculiar Custom in the Church of *Alexandria*, that tho they had religious Assemblies on these Days, they had not the Communion. Which Exception implies, that to receive the Communion on those Days was the Practice of other Churches.

Ep. 219. ad Cæs.

L. 5. c. 22.

*Tertullian* as plainly intimates that they received the Communion upon all the Festivals of the Martyrs. And the same is noted by *Cyprian*, *Chrysostom*, and *Sidonius Apollinaris*. *Tertullian* says farther that the fifty Days between Easter and Pentecost were one continued Festival. And since all Festivals were Communion Days, we may conclude they were so.

De Cor. Mil. c. 3.

That Saturday also was observed in many Churches, has been proved already from several Testimonies: From all which it appears they had the Communion four times every Week, besides incidental Festivals, which were very frequent; for, as *Chrysostom* tells us, there was scarce a Week, but they had one or two Commemorations of Martyrs.

Hom. 40. in Juv.

But in some Places they received the Communion every day, as appears from *St. Austin*, tho this was left to the Liberty of every Church. In the greater Churches they had it probably every day, in the lesser only once or twice a Week. *Carthage* seems to have been one of those Churches which had it every day from the time of *Cyprian*: For *Cyprian*, and *Austin* after him, speak of it as the Custom there. *St. Jerom* also assures us it was so at *Rome*, and likewise in the *Spanish* Church. *St. Ambrose* advised receiving the Eucharist every day: If, says he, it be our daily Bread, why dost thou receive it once a Year only,

Tra&. 26. in Joh.

Ep. 50. ad Pam.

De Sacram. l. 3. c. 4.



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as the *Greeks* are used to do in the *East* ? Receive that daily which is for thy daily Advantage, and so live that thou mayst deserve daily to receive it. Hence it appears, that the Communion was administer'd daily in the *Western Church* ; tho he seems to reflect upon the *Greek Church*, as if they had left off that Custom. But he is to be interpreted by *St. Austin*, who speaks the same thing, but does not charge the whole *Greek Church*, nor any Part of it, with this Innovation ; but only some particular Men, in some Parts, who did not think themselves under any Obligation to receive it daily. And indeed it is plain from *St. Chrysostom* and others, that about this time many began scandalously to neglect frequent Communion, tho the Church kept to the Custom of daily Communion in many Places, and in all Places to the Celebration of it on Saturday and the Lord's Day, and in many Places on Wednesdays and Fridays also ; and they who were piously disposed were then constant Communicants ; and they who were negligent were earnestly invited to it. *Eusebius* says expressly that they received it every day. And it appears from the Council of *Laodicea*, that they had it twice in the Week, on Saturdays and Sundays, in *Lent*, and at all other times of the Year more frequently. *St. Basil* speaks of four Days, besides incidental Festivals, and recommends daily Communion. *St. Chrysostom* tells us they had Communions every day, for those who were devoutly disposed ; sometimes on the three more solemn Days of the Week, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, on which Days the whole Church was expected : tho for all this many came not above once a Year. In vain, says he, is the daily Sacrifice, in vain do we stand at the Altar : there is none to participate. In another Place he says, The *Jewish Passover* comes but once a Year, but the Christian Passover is celebrated in every Assembly. And a little after, *Lent* comes but once a Year, but the Passover is celebrated three times a Week, and sometimes four, or as often as we please.

From

From all these Passages it appears that frequent and daily Communions were in some measure kept up by the Clergy and devouter sort of Laity, tho in *Chrysostom's* time there was a great Abatement; and after that, when Matters were come to that degeneracy, some Councils, instead of reviving the antient Discipline, contented themselves to oblige the Laity to receive three times a Year, at the three great Festivals, under the Penalty of not being reputed Catholick Christians, if they neglected to communicate at those Seasons. Thus it was first determined in the Council of *Agde* about the Year 506. And so things continued to the time of *Charles the Great*, when the third Council of *Tours* made a Decree to the like purpose, *Anno* 813. However the Clergy with some of the devouter Laity continued to communicate every Lord's Day, as appears from the Writers of that Age. *Rabanus Maurus* and *Bertram* say that the Sacrament was administer'd not only at the Paschal Solemnity, but every day throughout the Year, when as yet the Corruption of private and solitary Mass did not prevail, which came not in till some Ages after. And it is remarkable that even in this Age the Council of *Aix la Chapelle* made some Attempt to restore the antient Practice to its primitive Lustre, by reviving the Decree of the Council of *Antioch*, to oblige all who came to Church to hear the Scriptures, and to receive the holy Communion, under pain of being cast out of the Church, till they should amend their Fault by Confession and Repentance.

Can. 18.

Can. 50.

Bert. de Corp. Dom.

But the Disease was grown too inveterate, and the fourth Council of *Lateran*, under *Innocent* the Third, added Strength and Confirmation to it: For whereas before all Men were obliged to communicate at least three times a Year, this Council required it only at *Easter*, when every Man and Woman who was come to Years of discretion were bound to make Auricular Confession of all their Sins to their own Priest, and receive the Communion, unless the Priest advised that they

Can. 21.

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Decret. Greg. 1.  
5. iii. 38.

they should abstain from it. This Rule was afterward taken into the Body of the Canon Law. And here we may date the utter Ruin of the antient and Apostolical Practice of frequent and general Communion. Hence the People contented themselves with receiving once a Year, at *Easter*, leaving their Priests to communicate alone at other times; which quickly was attended with another Corruption of private and solitary Masses, when an Inundation of Absurdities came in, and the People became mere Spectators of the Priest, who pretended to act in the name of the whole Church, and communicated in Pageantry, without any real Communion. And this was the general State of the *Romish* Service at the time of the *REFORMATION*, except only in some few Collégiate Churches; where, if *Bona* says true, the Clergy continued to communicate with the officiating Priest, according to antient Custom, without which he confesses it is hard to make sense of many of their Prayers which are daily used in their Service.

## BOOK XVI.

### *Of the Unity and Discipline of the Antient Church.*

#### CHAP. I.

### *Of the Union and Communion observed in the Antient Church.*

**T**HE Design of this Book being to treat of the Discipline of the antient Church, nothing can be more proper to usher it in than a preliminary Account of that Union and Communion which she laboured to preserve in all her Members. And here first of all, the Unity of Faith was principally insisted upon, as the Foundation on which all other sorts of Christian Unity were built: And next to this they required the Unity of Holiness or Obedience; accounting them both necessary to the very Being of the Church. And for this reason the antient Church never admitted any Persons to Baptism without first obliging them to do these two things: 1. To make pro-  
fession



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feſſion of the primary Articles of the Chriſtian Faith: and, 2. To promiſe or bind themſelves by a ſtrict Vow to live in holy Obedience to the Laws and Inſtitutions of Chriſt. And ſince both Faith and Obedience were reckoned eſſentially neceſſary to Baptiſm, they muſt be concluded equally neceſſary to preſerve Men in the real and perfect Unity of the Church; unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that any thing was neceſſary to make a Man a Chriſtian, which was not neceſſary to make or keep him a Member of the Church.

Ap. Euſeb. l. 7.  
c. 30.

Ang. cont. Creſc.  
l. 1. c. 29.

For the fundamental Articles of Faith, the Church always had them collected and ſummed up in her Creeds, which were ſo much the *Regula Fidei* among the Antients, that Orthodoxy and Hereſy were judged and examined by them; as is evident from the Charge againſt *Paulus Samofatenus*, brought by the Fathers in the Council of *Antioch*, &c. And as to the other Points of Obedience to the Laws of Chriſt, which were reckoned fundamental and eſſential to the Being of a Chriſtian and the Unity of the Church, they were generally ſummed up in theſe ſhort Forms of *Renouncing the Devil, and his Service, and his Works, and covenanting with Chriſt, to live by the Rules of his Goſpel*. And as Charity was reckon'd one eſſential Part of a Chriſtian's Virtue, ſo the Antients laid a great ſtreſs upon this one Virtue, inſomuch that they never reputed any Man to be truly in the Unity of the Church, who was deficient upon that ſcore; and therefore this Unity of Love and Charity was always eſteemed as an eſſential Part of Chriſtian Obedience.

But then there were other ſorts of Unity, neceſſary indeed to the Well-being of the Church, but yet not ſo abſolutely eſſential, but that a Man in ſome extraordinary Caſes and Circumſtances might be incapacitated or hindred in the Performance of them, without incurring the Censure of breaking the Unity of the Church, or being wholly excluded out of her Communion. Between thoſe ſorts of Unity which were reckoned fundamental and eſſential to the very Being of a Church,

Church, and those which were required as necessary to the Well-being of it, was this great Difference: The former admitted of no Dispensations, but the latter did in some particular Cases; and therefore it will be of great use to distinguish these things in speaking of the Unity of the Church, and to shew how far the Antients urged the Necessity of them.

I. The first thing they required was, That Men should unite themselves to the Church by Baptism, and that administer'd but once; and this by the hands of a regular Minister, except upon some urgent necessity.

As to the Necessity of Baptism in all ordinary Cases, it has been observed before, that tho they strictly urged it, and expressed themselves severely against all who carelessly neglected or profanely despised it; yet they did not think it to be so simply and absolutely necessary as the Unity of Faith and Repentance: because they always maintained that the bare want of Baptism, where there was no Contempt, might otherwise be supplied by Martyrdom, &c. by which a Martyr, or a pious Catechumen, might be presumed to die in the Unity of the Church without Baptism, having no opportunity to receive it.

The Form of Baptism it self indeed, whenever it was administred, was a little more necessary, because that implied a Profession of Faith in the Holy Trinity, and universal Obedience to the Laws of Christ; and therefore Baptism administred in any other Form was reputed null and void even in the Church itself, and was of necessity to be repeated: But then this did not arise from the bare necessity of Baptism, but from the necessity of Faith and Obedience, presupposed as antecedent Qualifications, essential to the very Being of a Church and the Character of a Christian in the largest Denomination. So that what made this so absolutely necessary was not the absolute necessity of Baptism it self; but it was the want of those Qualifications, or at least the want  
of

Book XVI. of professing them in due Form, that made the Baptism void, and therefore to be repeated, let it be given in any Place whatsoever.

Conc. Ilerd. c. 13.

De Bapt. l. 1. c. 2.

It was also necessary to the Unity of the Church in its Well-being, that Baptism should ordinarily be administred only by the hands of a regular Ministry : And therefore the Church always condemned Baptism given by Hereticks, Schismatics or Laymen, without a Commission from her, as an Usurpation, and an Act of criminal Schism, and manifest Prevarication both in the Giver and voluntary Receiver. Inasmuch that one of the antient Councils orders, That if any Catholick offered his Children to be baptized by Hereticks, his Oblation should not be received in the Church. And St. *Jerom* says, If a Man who is Orthodox in his own Faith, is willingly and wittingly baptized by Hereticks, he deserves no Pardon for his Crime. But then it might happen that a Man might be in extremity, and have none but an Heretick to baptize him ; and in such a case St. *Austin* accounts the Person so baptized no other than a Catholick, tho he die immediately ; because he was in heart and mind a Catholick, and would have been baptized in Catholick Unity, if there had been an Opportunity. If such an one survives, and corporally joins himself to the Catholick Congregation, from which in heart he never departed, We, says St. *Austin*, not only not disallow what he has done, but securely and truly commend him for it : because he believed God to be present in his Heart, where he preserved Unity ; and would not depart out of this Life without the Sacrament of Baptism, which he knew to be God's, and not Mens, wheresoever he found it. But if any one, when he might receive it in the Catholick Church, by some Perverseness of Mind chuses rather to be baptized in Schism, tho he afterwards design to return to the Church, because he is certain the Sacrament will profit him in the Church, but not elsewhere, tho he may receive it elsewhere ; this is a perverse and wicked Man, and so much the more

more perniciously such, by how much the more knowing he is. In another Place he proposes the same Question in relation to Schismatics, and answers it after the same manner. From which it is plain, That to receive Baptism from an Heretick or Schismatick, in case of Necessity, does not involve a Man in the Guilt of Schism; provided the Man in heart and mind is all the time in the Unity of the Catholick Church.

L. 6. c. 5.

This Case was the same with those who were baptized by Laymen. Lay-baptism was forbidden in ordinary Cases: But in case of Extremity, the Church granted a general Commission even to Laymen to baptize, rather than any Person in such exigence should die without Baptism.

In all these Cases nothing but extreme necessity could excuse from criminal Schism. And the like may be said of any man's suffering himself to be re-baptized, after he had once received a true Baptism, whether in the Church or out of it. For the Unity of Baptism was such, that it was never to be repeated, except when some Doubt was made whether the Baptism was defective in some essential Part of it. And therefore, because many Hereticks were inclined to re-baptize the Catholicks, very severe Laws were made both in Church and State to repress this Insolence; of which having spoken before, we shall only observe, That the Practice of re-baptizing was always accounted a Schismatical Act, and a notorious Breach of Catholick Unity, which never allowed of more than one Baptism in the Church, according to that Rule of the Apostle, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism*, as many of the Antients expound it; or at least, because by the divine Will it was so appointed.

Book 12. ch. 5.

II. Another sort of Union requisite to the Well-being of the Church was the Unity of Worship, which obliged all Christians to join with their respective Churches in the performance of all holy Offices in publick; such as common Prayer, and the Administration of the Word and Sacraments:



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Which did not require that all Churches should exactly agree in the same Form of Words, which were not essential to these things: But that which was required to keep the Unity of the Church in these matters was, That every particular Member of any Church should comply with the particular Customs and Usages of his own Church (nothing unlawful being inserted into her Offices) and meet for religious Worship, and hold constant Communion with her in the performance of all divine Service. And to do otherwise, either by Neglect of the publick Service, or setting up separate Communion, or raising Disputes about the lawful Usages and innocent Practices of the Church, whereof a man was a Member, was always esteemed an Act of criminal Schism, and liable to an *Anathema*. In the Council of *Gangra* there are several Canons to this purpose, made particularly against the Separatists called *Eustathians*. The fourth runs thus: 'If any one separate from a married Presbyter, upon pretence that it is unlawful to partake of the Oblation when he performs the Liturgy, or celebrates the Office of Communion, let him be *Anathema*.' The fifth Canon excommunicates such as teach that the House of God and the Assemblies held therein are to be despised. The sixth forbids all private and irregular Assemblies, and performing Ecclesiastical Offices without a Presbyter licensed by the Bishop, under the same Penalty. The eleventh censures those in like manner who despised the Feasts of Charity, under pretence of being *Asceticks*. The nineteenth censures such *Asceticks* as without excuse of bodily Infirmary, contemptuously broke the common Fasts: And the twentieth anathematizes those who contemned the Assemblies in the Churches of the Martyrs, and the Service performed there, and the Commemoration of them. Among the Apostolical Canons there is one to the same purpose: 'If any Presbyter, despising his Bishop, gather a separate Congregation, and erect another Altar, having nothing to object against his

Can. 31.

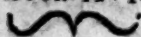
his Bishop in point of Godliness or Righteousness, he should be deposed, as a Lover of Pre-eminence, and arbitrary Power or Tyranny in the Church.' And if any of the Clergy conspired with him, they were to be deposed, and Laymen to be suspended from the Communion, after a third Admonition given from the Bishop.

One of the Apostolical Canons orders all Communicants, who came to Church to hear the Scriptures read, but did not stay to join Prayers and receive the Eucharist, to be suspended. This Canon is repeated by the Council of *Antioch*; and the Council of *Eliberis* forbids the Bishop to receive the Oblations of such as did not communicate. The same Council in another Canon suspends such as absented from Church three Lord's Days, being at home, from the Communion for an equal Term. In the Council of *Sardica*, and that of *Trullo*, the same is repeated: So careful was the Church to preserve her Members in Unity, and discountenance Separatists, that an occasional Conformist was liable to Censure as well as any other.

But then there were some Reasons might excuse a man from this Duty of constant Communion with his own Church. If a man was in a Journey, or sick and infirm, these were lawful Excuses for absenting: And the same would excuse for the Non-observance of the severe Fasts of the Church, as appears from a Canon of the Council of *Gangra*. The stationary Days of Fasting and Prayer were also indulged to poor Men, who were to live by their bodily Labour; to Persons in Prison or in Banishment, the necessity of their Confinement was their natural Excuse.

III. Another sort of Unity necessary for the Well-being of the Church was, That the Clergy and People should be united under one single Bishop in every Church, respecting his Authority, and not dividing from him, either by setting up Anti-Bishops against him, or withdrawing from his Communion or Government, or despising the

## Book XVI.



Can. Apof. 29.  
Conc. Chal. c. 2.

Cyp Ep. 68.

publick Orders of his Church, in Matters of an indifferent nature. But then we must note, that this Obedience was only due to Bishops when they could make out a just Title to it by the standing Rules of the Catholick Church. For, 1. If any Man came into his Office by a Simonical Ordination, his Ordination was void by the Canons: And then no Obedience was due, nor any Communion to be held with him as a Bishop of the Church. 2. If a Man intruded himself into a full See, where another Bishop was regularly ordained before him, it was Schism to join with the Intruder. 3. If a Bishop became an Heretick or an Idolater, the People were obliged in point of Duty to separate from him. 4. If any Bishops were legally deposed for any other Misdeameanors, it was equally the Peoples Duty to give Vigour and Effect to the Censures of the Church, by leaving their Communion, and adhering to such as were by just Authority substituted in their room. 5. Sometimes a Dispute of Right has been so nice between two Bishops, that each might be presumed to have a Right till the Cause was fully heard and adjusted; as in the Case between *Flavian* and *Evagrius* Bishop of *Antioch*: And then it would be hard to condemn innocent Men who joined with either side, till the Question was decided. 6. Sometimes a Bishop, who might be presumed to have a Right in a Church, was willing to resign to his Opposite, to prevent a Schism, and preserve the Peace of the Church: And in that case, Submission to the Opposite was lawful, because done by the Consent of the true Bishop, and confirmed by the Approbation of the Church. 7. Sometimes a Bishop was willing to resign, as in the Case of *Flavian* aforementioned, but a superior Power would not permit him; and in such a point it were unreasonable to think that the People who followed *Flavian*, and *St. Chrysostom* among them, were in any Fault, tho the Judgment of the *Western* Bishops were against him, in opposition to the *Eastern*, who were generally for him. 8. *Lastly*, Sometimes two Bishops were allow'd

allow'd to fit jointly in the same See, as some suppose *Peter* and *Paul* to have been at *Rome*; or when one was to be Co-adjutor to the other; or when it was to cure an inveterate Schism: In such Cases Obedience might be paid to either Bishop without Schism, because there was no Opposition between them.

IV. To preserve the Unity of the Church in its well-being, it was required that every Member of a Church should submit to the ordinary Rules of Discipline for the Punishment of Delinquents; not despising the lawful Censures of his own Church; nor seeking clandestinely to be restored to Communion in any other Church, without giving satisfaction to his own; nor betaking himself to the Conventicles of Hereticks or Schismatics to be received by them, being cast out of his own Church as a Criminal. All these were direct Violations of the Unity of Discipline; and Persons dying in such a State, were looked upon to be in a deplorable Condition, as dying in a State of Sin and Rebellion against God, and out of the Unity of the Church: For which reason no Solemnity was used at their Funeral, nor were their Oblations received, or any Offerings or Commemorations made for them, as for others, in the usual Service of the Church. Only in one Case a little Favour was shewed; when such Penitents as obediently submitted to the Church's Discipline, and gave Tokens of their Repentance, happen'd to die suddenly, being desirous of Reconciliation and Absolution, and could by no means have it, the Canons order'd that their Oblations should be received, as a Testimony of their Submission, and being united to the Church in Heart and Mind, tho they could not have a formal Absolution. In the fourth Council of *Carthage*, the second of *Vaison*, the second of *Arles*, *Orleanse*, *Toledo*, and the Council of *Epone*, are so many several Canons to the same purpose. By all which we may judge what respect the Church had for such as honoured her



Book XVI. Discipline, and how she treated the Contemners of it. And thus much for the Unity of every Church with relation to its own Members. We are next to examine what Communion different Churches held with one another, that we may discover the harmonious Unity of the Catholick Church.

I. And here, first of all, we are to observe, That as there was one common Faith, consisting of certain Fundamental Articles, essential to the very Being of a particular Church and its Unity ; so this same Faith was necessary to cement the different Parts of the Catholick Church. Hence, if any Church deserted or destroy'd this Faith, they were treated as a Conventicle of Hereticks. Upon this account it was that every Bishop not only made a Declaration of his Faith at his Ordination, but also sent his circular Letters to foreign Churches, to signify that he was in Communion with them. And an Omission in this kind was interpreted a sort of Refusal to hold Communion with the rest of the World, and a virtual Charge of Heresy upon him or them.

Liber Breviar.  
c. 17.

II. To maintain this Unity of Faith, every Church was ready to give each other their Assistance to oppose all Fundamental Errors, and beat down Heresy at its first Appearance. In this Case the World was but one common Diocese, the Episcopate was an universal thing, and every Bishop had his Share in it. Hence they might perform such Acts of the Episcopal Office in any Part of the World, as they thought necessary for the Preservation of Faith and Religion. This was the Ground of their meeting in Synods, and sending their Opinions and Advice from one Church to another, of which Church-History is full, and need not to be repeated. Only it is observable upon this Head, That the intermeddling with other Mens Concerns, which would have been accounted a Breach of Unity in many other Cases, was thought so necessary

See Book 2. c. 5.

necessary in this, that there was no certain way to preserve the Unity of the Catholick Church and Faith without it. Of which we have given some remarkable Instances in the foremention'd second Book.

Chap. I.

III. This Unity of the Catholick Church was farther maintained by the Readiness of each Church to join in Communion with all other Churches in the Performance of divine Worship, and all Holy Offices, as their Occasions required. To this purpose two Things were necessary: 1. That every Church should keep her Liturgy agreeable to the Divine Rule. And how careful the antient Church was in this Point, may be seen by perusing the Account of the Liturgy of the antient Churches in all the several Parts of it. 2. It was necessary that every Christian, when he came to a foreign Church, should readily comply with the innocent Usages and Customs of that Church, tho they might chance in some Circumstances to differ from his own. For it was impossible that every Church should have the same Rites and Ceremonies in all Respects, unless there had been a general Liturgy for the whole Church expressly enjoined by divine Appointment. The Unity of the Catholick Church did not require this, and therefore it was never insisted upon. It was enough that all Churches agreed in the Substance of divine Worship; and for Circumstantial, every Church had liberty to chuse for herself: And then, as it was the Duty of every Member of any particular Church to comply with the innocent Customs of his own Church; so it was the Duty of every Christian to comply with the different Customs of all other Churches where he happen'd to travel, in order to hold Communion with the Catholick Church, as he did with his own in particular. This Rule is often inculcated by St. *Austin*, as the great Rule of Peace and Unity with regard to all Churches, viz. to do as the Church did wherever a Man happen'd to come. By

Ep. 36. ad Casul.  
Ep. 118. ad Jan.

Book XVI.  this Rule all wise and peaceable Men governed their Practice in holding Communion with other Churches; tho they did not altogether like their Customs, they did not break Communion upon that account. Thus *Irenaeus* observes to Pope *Victor*, when he was going to excommunicate the *Asttick* Churches for their different way of observing *Easter*, That his Predecessor *Anicetus* was far from this uncharitable Temper. For when *Polycarp* came to *Rome*, tho they could not come to a perfect Agreement in this Point, yet this Difference made no Contention between them. For they gave each other the Kiss of Peace, and communicated together; *Anicetus* paying *Polycarp* the customary Civility and Respect, to let him consecrate the Eucharist in his Church. It is farther observed by *Irenaeus*, That tho there were many Disputes then on foot relating to *Lent*, yet all Churches agreed to live in Peace and Union one with another, mutually sending the Eucharist to one another, to testify they were in Communion, notwithstanding those Disputes.

Ap. Euseb. l. 5.  
c. 24.

IV. The Communion of the whole Catholick Church was farther declared by the Obligation of such Laws as laid a necessary Injunction upon all Churches to ratify all such legal Acts of Discipline as were regularly exercised in any Church whatsoever. Thus any Person duly baptized, had a Right to communicate in any part of the Catholick Church, having commendatory Letters from the Bishop of his own. So, if a Man was legally excommunicated by his own Church, no Church would receive him to Communion till he had given proper Satisfaction to his own Church. No Church would admit Persons without Communicatory Letters: If they were Rebels to their own Church, they were accounted Rebels to the whole; as is evident from what *Epiphanius* tells us they answer'd *Marcion* the Heretick, when he desired to be received into Communion at *Rome*, That they could not do it without the Permission

Her. 42. Mar-  
cion.

of his Father, by whom he had been excommunicated. For, said they, there is but one Faith and one Rule of Concord, and we cannot do any thing in opposition to our good Fellow-Servant your Father.

V. Another Instance of the Church's Unity in point of Practice, was, that they generally agreed in receiving such Customs as were handed down by general Consent from Apostolical Tradition, or otherwise determined by the Decrees of General Councils. For these two Ways many Customs became in a manner universal, and almost of necessary Observance in the Church all over the World: And then for any private Man, or Church, to dispute against them, was to give Offence to the rest of the World. Of this double Source of general Customs in the Church, St. Austin gives this Judgment: ' Those things, says Ep. 118. ad Jan. he, which we keep, not from Scripture but from Tradition, and which are observed over all the World, are reasonably supposed to have come down to us recommended and appointed either by the Apostles themselves, or by some Plenary Councils, whose Authority is of great Use in the Church; such as the celebrating the Anniversary of our Saviour's Passion, &c.' And for any Man to dispute against them, was most insolent Madness, seeing they were authorized by the Practice of the Universal Church. He particularly applies this Rule to the Case of observing the *Lord's-Day*, not as a Fast, but as a Festival: For since the whole Church observed it as a Festival, no one could turn that Day into a Fast, but he must offend God, by giving Scandal to the Church; there being both general Custom and Canon against it. For the same reason it was esteemed a Crime to pray kneeling on *Easter-Day*, because the Practice of the whole Church was to pray standing, in Memory of our Saviour's Resurrection; and the Council of *Nice* thought it a thing worthy a Decree to bring all Men to an Uniformity in that Practice, as she did in the Ob.

Ep. 86. ad Casul.

Tert. de Cor. Mil. c. 3.

Can. 20.



Book XVI. Observation of *Easter Festival*: So that the several Churches had kept this Festival on different Days before this Decree was made, yet when that was once past, there was no more Liberty for Diffension.

Can. 2.

VI. The like may be observed of the Decrees of National Councils, when the *Roman Empire* was divided into Kingdoms. Every Bishop antiently had Liberty to frame his own *Liturgy* for the Use of his own Church; but after that time, when the World was divided into Kingdoms, Rules were made that all the Churches of such or such a Kingdom should have one and the same *Liturgy*. Thus when *Spain* and *Gallia Narbonensis* became one distinct Kingdom, a Decree was made, That there should be but one *Liturgy* thro that whole Kingdom. This is evident from a Canon of the fourth Council of *Toledo*, in which they refer to more antient Canons of the same Import. And it is certain, that about this time, that is, in the sixth and seventh Centuries, and before, several Decrees were made in several Councils, requiring the Churches of each respective Province to conform their Usages to the Rites and Forms of the Metropolitcal Church among them; as may be seen in the Council of *Agde*, *Ann.* 506. *Epone* and *Girone*, *Ann.* 517. *Vannes* and *Braga*, *Ann.* 465, and 563. And hence the Rituals and Circumstantial of divine Worship, as well as Faith and Substantial, became a necessary Part of the Union of National Churches; in which all the Bishops voluntarily combining, no one could depart from that Unity, without incurring the Guilt of a Breach of that Union, so convenient for cementing the several Members of a National Church into one Communion.

Thus we have seen wherein the Unity of the Catholick Church in its utmost Latitude consisted. And hence we may safely infer two things negatively, without any farther Evidence.

1. That there was no Necessity of a visible Head  
to

to unite all the Parts of the Catholick Church. Nor, 2. Any Necessity that the whole Catholick Church should agree in all Rites, and Ceremonies, and Customs in indifferent things, which might be various in different Churches, without any Breach of Catholick Communion.

But tho this Unity of the Church was antiently so much regarded, in some cases a little Allowance was made for Men of honest Minds, who brake Communion with one another thro Ignorance, for mere Words, not understanding each others Sentiments: in which Case all wise and moderate Men esteemed the Parties Objects of Compassion, and laboured to unite them, without condemning either. To this purpose *Nazianzen* tells us, There was a Time when the Ends of the Earth were well nigh divided by a few Syllables. It was in controversy about the Words *τρία πρόσωπα* and *τρεις ὑποστάσεις*, in the Doctrine of the Trinity. Each Party was orthodox, and meant the same thing under different Words; but not understanding one anothers Sense, they charged each other with Heresy. They who called the three divine Persons three *Hypostases*, charged their Adversaries as *Sabellians*; and they returned the Charge of *Arianism* upon them, as thinking they had taken three *Hypostases*, in the *Arian* Sense, for three Essences or Substances of a different Nature. But *Athanasius* seeing into the false Foundation of these Disputes, soon put an end to them, by bringing them to a right understanding of each others Sense, and allowing them their own Terms without any Difference in Opinion. And this, our Author says, was a greater Act of Charity to the Church, than all his other daily Labours; and therefore recommends this Action to the Imitation of his Readers.

Orat. 21. de  
Laud. Athanas.

And the Antients had some regard likewise to Men of honest Minds, who thro mere Ignorance or Infirmary were engaged in greater Errors. They made a great Distinction between *Heresiarchs* and their Followers; between the Guides and the People, and between such as were born  
and

Book XVI.

Ep. 162. ad Epif.  
Donat.De Gubern. Dei,  
l. 5.

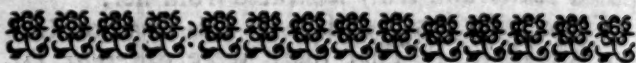
and bred in the Church, and afterward apostatized, and those that received their Errors from their Parents. St. *Austin* speaking of this latter sort, says, That they who defend not a false and perverse Opinion with any pertinacious Animosity, especially if they did not by any audacious Presumption of their own first invent it, but received it from the Seduction of their erring Parents, and were careful in their Enquiries after Truth, being ready to embrace it when they found it; that they were by no means to be reckoned among Hereticks. Because, as *Salvian* words it, in the Case of some who embraced the *Arian* Heresy, tho they erred indeed, they erred with a good Mind, not out of any Hatred to God, but with Affection to him, thinking thereby to honour and love the Lord. And this occasioned sometimes a little Distinction in the Discipline and Censures of the Church upon them, as we shall see hereafter. In the mean time, it may be observed, That the Church not being able ordinarily to judge of Mens Hearts, nor always to know the Means and Motives that engaged them in Schism, she was forced to judge commonly of their Unity with her by their external Communion and Professions. And because there were several Sorts and Degrees of Unity, so that a Man might be in the Communion of the Church in one respect, and out of it in another; therefore the Church took this Rule, to judge none to be in her perfect Unity, but such as were in full Communion with her. Upon which account, tho Hereticks, &c. were, in some sense, of the Church, as professing some Part of the Faith, yet they were not esteemed sound and perfect Members of the Body, for want of such Unity in other Respects as is necessary to denominate a Man a real Christian. And this Distinction between total and partial Unity, and total and partial Schism and Separation, is of great use for the understanding of the Antients, when they speak of Hereticks, Schismaticks, excommunicate Persons and profligate Sinners, as being in and of the

the Church, at the same time that they were reputed really and truly separated from her.

From what has been said on this Head of Unity, is evident, 1. That there were different Degrees of Unity and Schism, according to which a Man was more or less united to, or divided from the Church. 2. That they who retained Faith, Baptism, and the common Form of Christian Worship, were in those Respects one with the Church; tho in other Respects wherein their Schism consisted, they were divided from her. 3. That to give a Man the Denomination of a true Catholick Christian, it was necessary he should be compleat in every Degree of Unity; but to denominate a Man a Schismatick, it was sufficient to break the Unity of the Church in any one Respect, tho the Malignity of his Schism was to be interpreted more or less, according to the Degrees of the Separation that he made from her. And by these Rules it is easy to understand what the Antients meant by Unity and Schism, and how the Discipline of the Church was exercised and maintained, by obliging Men to live in perfect and full Communion with her; which is the next thing we are to explain and consider.







## C H A P. II.

*Of the Discipline of the Church, and the various Kinds of it, together with the Methods observed in the Administration of it.*



THE Discipline of the Church was intended only to coerce her own Members, and keep them in one Communion: For which reason she pretended not to restrain but only such as were within her Pale, in the largest Sense, by their own Profession. And upon these she never pretended to go so far as to cancel their Baptism, so as to oblige them to a second, if their first was good; tho she proceeded to deprive them of her Communion, and thereby divest them of all the Benefits and Privileges of Baptism. Nay, her Censures sometimes ran so high, that Persons were forbidden so much as to enter the Church, and interdicted common Conversation of Christians, till they shewed some Tokens of relenting. The Reasons of this severe Treatment were partly to establish the Censures and Proceedings of the Church against them, partly to make them ashamed, and partly to secure others from the Contagion.

Thus far the Church went in her Censures by her own natural Right and Power, but no farther. Her Sword was only spiritual, affecting the Soul, but not the Body nor the Estate, except it was purely ecclesiastical, and of her own Donation; then she could resume what was her own Property and Gift from such as were contumacious and rebellious against her Censures. Yet even in this case she sometimes craved Assistance from the

the Secular Power whilst it was Heathen, and more frequently when it was become Christian; for then Canons were made to authorize her Adresses to the superiour Powers, that the Censures of the Church might have their Effect and Force upon contumacious and obstinate Offenders. Such an Order was made in the Council of *Antioch*, *Ann.* 341. in the Reign of *Constantius*, *Can. 5.*

That if a Presbyter, who set up a separate Meeting from his Bishop, and was after Admonition deposed for his Crime, still continued obstinately to disturb and subvert the Church, he should be corrected by the external Power, that is, the Civil Magistrate, as a seditious Person. Such another Canon was made in the third Council of *Carthage*, in the Case of *Cresconius* a Bishop, *Can. 38.*

who having left his own Bishoprick had intruded himself into another, where he staid in spite of all Censures; when Orders were given to petition the Secular Magistrate by his Authority to remove him. And this Canon was inserted as a standing Rule into the *African Code*; where is a like Constitution against such Presbyters as set up new Bishopricks in the Diocese of their own Bishop without his Consent. They were to be deprived by the governing Power, *ἀρχοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, of the Secular Magistrate. In another Canon mention is made of Letters to be sent from the Synod to the Magistrates of *Africk*, to assist the Church against the *Donatists*, because the Authority of the Bishops was contemned in every City. This Petition is explained in another Canon, where Legates are appointed to the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius* to complain of Violences offer'd to the Church by the *Donatists*, against which they requested a military Guard; it being no unusual Thing, nor against the Scripture, to be protected, as *St. Paul* was, by a Band of Soldiers, against factious Men. They requested also, that the Emperors would execute their Father's Law against Hereticks, whereby every one who ordained, or was ordained by them, was amerced in the Sum of ten Pounds of Gold. The Law they referred

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L. 16. Tit. 5.  
leg. 21.

Ep. 50. ad Bon.

L. 16. tit. 5. leg.  
9. 35. 51.

L. 7. c. 12.

to, is still extant in the *Theodosian Code*, and is that famous Penal Law against all Hereticks, frequently mentioned by St. *Austin*, which he with the rest of the *African* Fathers desired *Honorius* to confirm, so as it might specify and affect the *Donatists*, not all of them indifferently, but such as the *Circumcellions* and others, who committed Outrages against the Catholics. However, *Honorius* extended the Penalty to them all, and enforced the old by a new Law of his own; the Reasons and Effects of which are largely explained by St. *Austin*, to whom we refer the Reader, only with these Observations: 1. That tho it was no Part of the Discipline of the Church to use Force, she did not think it unlawful to take the Assistance of the Secular Power, in case of Contempt. 2. That in case of Violence offer'd to the Church, there was still more reason to petition for Defence. 3. That it was generally thought useful to inflict some moderate temporal Punishments upon obstinate Hereticks and Schismatics, &c. (with a Liberty of remitting the Penalty, as Prudence directed) to bring them from Error to a Sense of their Duty.

But then it is to be consider'd, That the Church never encouraged the Magistrate to proceed farther than a pecuniary Mulct, or bodily Punishment short of Death, such as Confiscation or Banishment for any mere Error; nor unless it were in case of Capital Crimes, such as the Imperial Laws punished with Death. There are indeed some Laws in the *Theodosian Code* which punish Hereticks with Death: But as these Laws are very rare, they may be supposed to have been made upon some particular Provocation; and it is certain they were seldom put in Execution. We scarce find an Instance before *Priscillian* of any Heretick suffering Death barely for his Opinion. *Sozomen*, speaking of this Law of *Theodosius*, says, it was made more for Terror than Execution. *Chrysostom* is evidently against such Severity, and St. *Austin* accords with him in opinion, that Hereticks should not be punish'd with Death,

Death, tho they really deserved it upon other Accounts. Lesser Punishments they thought might have their Use in Cases of Heresy, and bring the Offenders to Repentance: But to take away their Lives was at once to deprive them of all Means and Opportunity of repenting. Besides, such as were slain, were always reckoned Martyrs by their Party, and that would rather confirm than lessen the Heresy. Thus the *Donatists* honour'd their *Circumcillions* who were slain in the Encounter with *Macarius*, whom the Emperor *Constans* sent into *Africk* in a peaceable manner to scatter his Gifts among them, and try to reduce them to Unity by his Kindness: They were the Aggressors, and forced him to require Aid of the Governours to defend himself against their Assaults; and yet those that were slain in so necessary a Defence, were by them reputed Martyrs, and the Catholicks were nick-named *Macarians*, and these called the *Macarian Days*, that is, in their Language, Days of Persecution. However, all this was done without the Desire, or Counsel, or Knowledge, or Concurrence of the Church, which never requested the Magistrate to unsheath the Sword in her Cause, or punish with Death in her Defence.

It was no part of the antient Discipline to deprive Men of their Natural or Civil Right. A Man was no less a Father or a Master by losing the Privileges of Christian Communion. A Judge did not lose his Office in the State by being cast out of the Church; for many such enjoy'd their Power under *Constantius* and other Heretical Princes, notwithstanding the Censures of the Church.

The Discipline of the Church, being a mere spiritual Power, was confined to these following Acts. First, the Admonition of the Offender, repeated twice commonly before they proceeded to greater Severities, as we may learn from St. *Ambrose*, *Prosper*, and *Synefius*; the last of whom Synef. Ep. 57, 58. represents his own Proceedings against *Andronicus*, the tyrannical Governour of *Ptolemais*, to this effect:



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effect. He first try'd Admonitions, but when they prov'd ineffectual, and the Man broke out into that blasphemous Expression, That in vain did any Man hope for Succour from the Church, and that no Man should escape his Hands, tho he laid hold of the Foot of Christ himself; after this, says *Synesius*, he was no longer to be admonished, but cut off as an incurable Member, for fear the sound Parts should be corrupted by his Society and Contagion. And so he proceeded to pronounce that formal Excommunication we shall hear more of by and by. This Admonition some called *μετρησιμα*, the Warning, or Time given to repent, which was sometimes limited to ten days. After which, upon Contempt, they proceeded to deny them the Communion, by the lesser or greater Excommunication.

Ep. 77. ad Eulal.

Secondly, The lesser Excommunication was called *αποστομω*, Separation or Suspension; and it consisted in excluding Men from the Participation of the Eucharist, and Prayers of the Faithful, but it did not expel them from the Church, where they might be present till the Service of the Catechumens was ended. This Excommunication is plainly distinguished from the greater by *Theodoret*, when speaking of some who had lapsed into Sin rather by Infirmary than Maliciousness, he says, They should be debarred from partaking of the Holy Mysteries, but not from the Prayers or Service of the Catechumens. So that this was only a lower Degree of Punishment, an excluding from Part, but not from the whole Service of the Church. And this was commonly inflicted for lesser Crimes; tho sometimes also for greater, when the Offender shewed a ready Disposition to submit to the Laws of Repentance. The Council of *Eliberis* suspended those from the Eucharist for three Weeks, who absented themselves from the Church three Lord's Days together: And in another Canon suspends such Virgins for a Year as were guilty of ante-nuptial Fornication; ordering them to be received without publick Penance, provided they were married.

Can. 21.

Can. 14.

ried to the Persons, and lived chafstly. St. Basil's Canons speak of the same Punishment for *Trigamists*, or Persons that were married a third time. These were to be under Penance five Years; half the time to be Hearers, and the rest Co-standers: They might hear the Prayers of the Faithful, but not partake of the Communion. So that here were plainly two Degrees of this lesser Excommunication; but neither expelled them totally from the Communion of the Church.

The greater Excommunication was a total Expulsion from all the Service of the Church. Whence it is called *παντηλης ἀφορισμός*, the total Separation, and *Anathema*, the Curse. It is also signified by the several Phrases of *ἀπεργεῖσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, *ἀποκλείεσθαι* and *εἰπεῖσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, *ἐκλὸς εἶναι*, *ἐκκηρύττεσθαι* *τῆς συνόδου*, *ἀπερῆσαι τῆς ἀκροάσεως*, &c. All which denote a total Expulsion from the Church. The Form in which this Excommunication was pronounced is expressed by *Synesius*, in his Excommunication of *Andronicus*, in these Words: Ep. 58.

' Now that the Man is no longer to be admonished, but cut off as an incurable Member, the Church of *Ptolemais* makes this Declaration or Injunction to all her Sister-Churches throughout the World: Let no Church of God be open to *Andronicus* and his Accomplices, to *Theas* and his Accomplices; but let every sacred Temple and Sanctuary be shut against them. The Devil has no Part in Paradise; tho he privily creep in, he is driven out again. I therefore admonish both private Men and Magistrates, neither to receive them under their Roof, nor to their Table; and Priests more especially, that they neither converse with them living, nor attend their Funerals when dead. And if any one despise this Church, as being only a small City, and receive those that are excommunicated by her, as if there was no Necessity of observing the Rules of a poor Church; let them know that they divide the Church by Schism, which Christ would have to

Book XVI.  be one. And whoever does so, whether he be *Levite*, Presbyter or Bishop, shall be ranked in the same Class with *Andronicus*: We will neither give them the Right Hand of Fellowship, nor eat at the same Table with them; and much less will we communicate in the sacred Mysteries with them who chuse to have Part with *Andronicus* and *Thoas*. From this Form we may observe four Things, as Concomitants or immediate Consequents of this greater Excommunication, the Explication of which may open a Way into the farther Knowledge of the Discipline of the Church.

Hier. Com. in  
Hof. c. 6.  
Aug. de Gen.  
l. 11. c. 40.

Hxr. 52.

1. First then it is to be observed, That casting out of the Church is here represented under the Image of Paradise, and parallel'd with it in the Form of Excommunication. And so it is said by St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin*; the last of whom in particular, speaking of *Adam's* Expulsion out of Paradise, says, It was a sort of Excommunication; as now in our Paradise, i. e. the Church, Men by Ecclesiastical Discipline are removed from the visible Sacraments of the Altar. And *Epiphanius* notes the same Custom, as more nicely observed by the Sect of the *Adamians*: For if any one was taken in a Crime, they would not suffer him to come into their Assembly, but called him *Adam*, the Eater of the forbidden Fruit, and adjudged him to be expelled, as out of Paradise, that is, their Church. So that this was a common Form or Phrase both in the Discipline of Hereticks and the Church.

Can. 11.

2. It is to be observed that when a Person was thus excommunicated by any Church, immediate Notice was given to other Churches, and sometimes by circular Letters to all eminent Churches in the World. To this purpose we find a Canon in the first Council of *Toledo*, That if any powerful Man oppress and spoil a Clerk, or a poor Man, or one of a religious Life, and a Bishop summon him before him to have a Trial, and he refuses to obey; in that case he shall give notice by Letter to all the Bishops of the Province, and  
to

to as many as he can, that such an one is excommunicated, till he submits and makes Restitution. And so it was in the Case of *Arius*: *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* sent his circular Letters to all Churches to declare his Excommunication. And this was also the constant Practice in all Councils, whenever any Hereticks were condemned.

Socrat. l. 1. c. 6.

3. Then, Thirdly, whoever was thus excommunicated in one Church, was held excommunicate in all Churches, every Church being ready to confirm all Acts of Discipline done in another, and refusing to receive him into her Communion, before he had given Satisfaction to the Church whereof he was a Member. And indeed to do otherwise, was to incur the same Penalty that was inflicted upon the offending Party. For the Laws of the Church were all uniform in this, and run universally in this Tenour, That no Person excommunicated in one Church should be received in another, except it were by the Authority of a legal Synod, to which there lay an Appeal, and which was allowed to judge in the Cause. There are two Canons among those called *Apostolical*, to this Purpose, to which the Council of *Nice* is supposed to refer, when it says, The Rule shall stand good according to the Canon which says, *He that is cast out by one Bishop, shall not be received by another*; appointing Synods twice a Year to examine into the Merits of Excommunications. This *Nicene* Canon was renewed by the Council of *Antioch*; and there are many Canons to the same purpose to be found in several other Councils. It was by this Rule that *Cornelius* refused *Felicissimus* Communion at *Rome*, being excommunicated by *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*. There are several other Instances of this kind in *Epiphanius*, *St. Austin*, &c. And *St. Austin* had such a regard for this Discipline, that he would not receive a *Donatist* under Censure among his own Party, tho he pretended to come over to the Catholick Church, till he had done the same Penance that he should have done, had he stayed

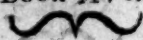
Can. 13, & 32.

Can. 5.

Aug. Ep. ad Ruf. feb. 149.



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Can. 2, 4, 5.

Can. 11.

Can. 7.

Can. 73.

Can. 89.

Can. 13.

among them; and he greatly complains of the *Donatist* Bishops for the contrary Practice. The Truth is, this was a very scandalous Practice in the *Donatists*, done purely to strengthen their Party; and nothing has done more Mischief to the Church. Upon this account the Church went as far as possibly she could to prevent it, by making several Laws, inflicting the same Punishment upon any one that received an excommunicate Person into publick or private Communion, as the excommunicated Person was liable to. This is plain from several Canons of the Council of *Antioch*, one of the first Council of *Orange*, and others: Among which, one Canon of the second Council of *Carthage* says more expressly, That a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, who receives those into Communion who were deservedly cast out of the Church for their Crimes, shall be held guilty of the same Crimes with them. And the fourth Council of *Carthage* declares universally, Whoever he be, Clergyman or Layman, that communicates with an excommunicate Person, shall himself be excommunicated. St. *Basil's* Words are very remarkable, to an Offender he threaten'd to excommunicate; Thou shalt be *Anathema* to all the People, and whoever receives thee, shall be excommunicate in all Churches. The like may be seen in the *Apostolical* Canons, to which the antient Councils so often refer, as the standing Rule of Discipline. If any Clergyman or Layman, who is cast out of the Church, be received in another City without Commendatory Letters, both he that receives him, and he that is received, shall be cast out of Communion. These were the Rules then generally observed throughout the Catholick Church, and by these the Unity of it was duly maintain'd, and its Discipline for the most part kept up in its true Vigour and Glory.

But fourthly, *Synesius* in the forementioned Form of Excommunication, not only speaks of denying Men Communion in sacred things, but also in Civil Commerce and external Conversation.

tion. These Directions were grounded upon the Rules of the Apostles; *St. Paul*, 1 Cor. 5. 11. *Rom.* 16. 17. 2 *Theff.* 3. 14. and 2 *John* 10, 11. in conformity to which the Antients made their Laws. The first Council of *Toledo* has four or five Canons to this purpose: It will be sufficient to recite the first; 'If any Layman is excommunicated, let no Clerk or religious Person come near him or his House. In like manner, if a Clergyman is excommunicated, let the Clergy avoid him. And if any is found to converse or eat with him, let him also be excommunicated.' And many other such Canons occur in the Councils of *Vannes*, the first of *Tours*, and the first of *Orleanse*. The Apostolical Canons forbid any one to communicate in Prayer, so much as in a private House, with excommunicate Persons, under the same Penalty of Excommunication. And that they were excluded Christian Burial, is evident not only from *Synesius*, but from the whole Tenour of Ecclesiastical Discipline, particularly from that Custom of erasing the Name of excommunicate Persons out of the *Diptychs* or sacred Registers of the Church; which was the immediate Effect of Excommunication, and excluded them from all the Privileges of any future Memorial or Commemoration, till they were restor'd again.

How these Laws were put in Practice, appears from several Instances. *Irenaus* tells us, from those who had it from the Mouth of *Polycarp*, that when he once went with *St. John* into a Bath at *Ephesus*, and they found *Cerintus* the Heretick there, *St. John* cried out to *Polycarp*, Let us fly hence, lest the Bath should fall in which *Cerintus* the Enemy of Truth is. *Irenaus* also says this of *Polycarp*, That meeting *Marcion* the Heretick, who ask'd him whether he did not know him, he replied, Yes, I know thee to be the First-born of Satan: So cautious, says *Irenaus*, were the Apostles and their Disciples, not to communicate so much as in Word with the Perverters of Truth. A great many other Proofs of this kind might be given, but none more pertinent than that from

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Ep. 47.

St. Basil, who writing to *Athanasius* about a Governour of *Libya* (whom *Athanasius* had excommunicated, and noticed to *Basil*) tells him they would all avoid him; and have no Communion with him in Fire, or Water, or House, that is, in the common Ways of ordinary Conversation. And this was directly according to the Discipline then practised in the Church.

De Præf. adv.  
Hæret. c. 30.

It is farther observable of excommunicate Persons, That the Church would neither receive Oblations from them whilst such, nor retain those Gifts they had offer'd whilst they were in Communion with her. This we learn from *Tertullian*, who speaking of the Expulsion of *Valentinus* and *Marcion* for their Heresies at *Rome*, says, They were cast out once and again, and particularly *Marcion* with his two hundred *Sestertia*, which he had brought into the Church.

Can. 9, 33, 34.

Can. 37.

Soer. l. i. c. 9.

L. 16 tit. 5. leg.  
34, 66.

Can. 16.

There are other Instances of their Aversion to Hereticks in particular, when the Censures of the Church were passed upon them. The Council of *Laodicea* forbids to frequent their Cæmeteries, or to pray with them, and even to receive any Presents under the Name of *Eulogia* from them. The same Council forbids Intermarriages with them on any account, unless they promise to become Christians. Where it is observable, that they did not allow the Hereticks the Name of Christians. *Constantine the Great* order'd the *Arians* to be branded with the Name of *Porphyrians*, and their Books to be burnt, and made it Death for any one to conceal and save them from the Flames. And there are two Laws extant in the *Theodosian Code*, wherein the same things are enjoined under severe Penalties. These two Laws were made, one against the *Eunomians*, the other against the *Nestorians*. But here it is to be observed, that these Laws were so limited as to allow Bishops the Liberty to keep and read them. This is evident from the fourth Council of *Carthage*. So that the retaining of them in this Case, to confute them, was not to be interpreted that fraudulent Concealment which was condemned by the Imperial Laws.

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The Effect these Laws had was this; they made Hereticks cautious how they dispersed, and others careful how they retained or concealed those Heretical Books: Insomuch that when St. Basil was about to confute the first Book of *Eunomius*, he had much Difficulty to procure it; as *Photius* reports.

Cod. 137.

There are two or three other things relating to the Manner, Form, and Effects of Excommunication, which deserve to be explained. The First arises from the Apostle's Order to the *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. 5. 5. how to proceed against the incestuous Person; where he enjoins them in the Name, and with the Power of the Lord Jesus Christ, *To deliver such a one unto Satan*. Of which Words there are two famous Expositions. Some think that *delivering unto Satan*, is only another Expression for Excommunication, and the spiritual Effects consequent to it, *i. e.* the Punishment of the Soul, and not of the Body. For when Men are cast out of the Society of the Faithful, they are deprived of all the Benefits peculiar to that Society, and so remain exposed to the Tyranny of Satan, whose Kingdom is without the Church. And thus far they say every excommunicate Person was *deliver'd unto Satan*, but not for any corporal Punishment. Others think that besides this spiritual Punishment, there was another in the Apostles Time, consequent of Excommunication, which was corporal Power and Possession, or the Infliction of bodily Vexations and Torments, by the Ministry of Satan, on those who were deliver'd unto him. Several Moderns are of this opinion, and have almost the general Concurrence of the antient Interpreters on their side. So that according to them, this Power of delivering unto *Satan* was something superior to that ordinary Power of casting Men out of the Church, and an extraordinary *Apostolical* Power: for which reason we do not find that they ordinarily made use of this Phrase, *delivering unto Satan*, in any of their Forms of Excommunication, after the Power of Miracles was ceased.

Neither

Bp. Beveridge,  
Eltius, Balsamon,  
Zonaras.

Dr. Hammond,  
Grotius, Light-  
foot.



Book XVI. Neither do we find it often in the Canons. St.

Can. 7.

Caus. 24. Quæf.

3. c. 13.

*Basil* indeed mentions it once; and *Gratian* cites an Epistle of Pope *Pelagius*, where it is said, By the Example of Apostolical Authority, we have learned to deliver unto Satan erring Spirits, which draw others into Error, that they may learn not to blaspheme. But in these Places it seems to mean no more than Excommunication or Expulsion out of the Church. For all Men are sensible, that since the Apostles Days there was no such Power granted to the Ministers of the Church. And for this Reason, *Peter du Moulin* tells us, the Reformed Church in France in their National Synod at *Alex.* where he was Moderator, Ann. 1620. made an Order, That in Excommunication, no one should use the Form of delivering unto Satan, neither should the Sentence of *Anathema Maranatha* be pronounced against any Man. And this Prohibition of the *Anathema* leads us to another Enquiry, What they meant by it; and whether they used it as a Form of Excommunication at any time?

The Word *Anathema* occurs frequently in the antient Canons, and the Condemnation of all Hereticks; but the adding of *Maranatha* to it is not so common. The Antients say but little of the Word itself, and less of its Use in any Form of Excommunication. St. *Chrysostom* says it is a Hebrew, St. *Jerom* that it is more a Syriac Word, and signifies, *The, or Our Lord is come.* But the latter of these Fathers applies it against the Perverseness of the *Jews*, and others who denied the coming of Christ; making this the Sense of the Apostle, *If any Man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, the Lord is come:* Where it is superfluous for any to contend with pertinacious Hatred against him, of the Truth of whose Coming there is such apparent Demonstration. The same Sense is given by *Hilary* the Deacon, and *Pelagius*, and is received by *Estius* and Dr. *Lightfoot* as the truest Interpretation. And if so, *Maranatha* could not be any Part of the Form of Excommunication, but only a Reason for

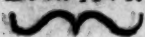
for pronouncing *Anathema* against those who expressed their Hatred against Christ, by denying his Coming, either in Words or in Works. Chap. 2.

Yet others of the Antients, as St. *Austin*, in- Ep. 178.  
terpret it of the future Coming of Christ; *The Lord will come.* And he particularly applies it against the *Arians*, who could not be said to love the Lord, because they denied his Divine Nature. Dr. *Hammond*, &c. take *Maranatha* in this Sense, and suppose it answer'd to the highest Degree of Excommunication among the *Jews*. But there is this grand Objection against the Thing, That *Chrysostom* and St. *Jerom*, and the rest that have been mentioned, did not so understand it. Besides, there is no such Word as *Maranatha* ever occurs in any antient Form of Excommunication. But still the Question may be put farther, Whether they had any such Excommunication as was total, final, and irrevocable, as the *Jewish* was, so as utterly to exclude Sinners from the Communion of the Church without hopes of Recovery, and so as to make the Church wholly cease to pray for them, or rather pray that God would take them out of the World? This Question consists of several Parts, which are to be answer'd with some Distinction.

For, First, It is certain the Church did sometimes pronounce an irreverfible Sentence against some Criminals, denying them her Communion at the hour of Death. But she did this for Example and Terror, not precluding them the Mercy of God, nor denying them the Benefit of her Prayers, but encouraging them to hope for Favour, upon their true Repentance, at God's final and unerring Judgment. In this Sense, the Sentence of the Church was many times irreverfible, as will be shewed hereafter.

But, Secondly, It is not so apparent that the Church was used to join Execration to her Censures, and devote Men to temporal Destruction, by refusing to pray for them, or rather praying against them, that God would take them out of the World. *Grotius* thinks this was rarely done; In Luc. 6. 22.  
but

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Hicks's Ans. to  
Julian.

L. 7. c. 12.

but yet that there are some Examples of it. For when *Julian* added to his Apostacy devilish Designs of rooting out the Christian Religion, the Church used this Weapon of extreme Necessity, and God heard their Prayers. This he reckons was done in Imitation of the Jewish *Shammatha*, or dreadful *Anathema*, which they called by that Name, and the Apostle, after them, in the same Sense, *Maranatha*; for *Maranatha* signifies *The Lord cometh*. And by that Word Prayer is made unto God, that he would speedily take away the Malefactor out of the World. And others join with *Grotius* in this Opinion, seeing no other way to account for the many Prayers made by the ancient Christians for *Julian's* Destruction. It is some Confirmation of this Opinion of *Grotius*, that *Socrates* says, they were used sometimes to cast Men out of the Church with Execration, as he notes of *Hermogenes*, a *Novatian* Bishop, who for some blasphemous Books he had written, was solemnly excommunicated, *μετὰ καταράς*, with Cursing; which in all probability denoted something more than the common *Anathema*, that accompanied every Excommunication.

It is also noted by *Socrates*, lib. 1. c. 37. that *Alexander*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, pray'd thus against *Arius*; 'If the Doctrine of *Arius* be true, let me die before the Day appointed for our Disputation: But if the Faith which I hold be true, and the Doctrine of *Arius* false, let *Arius* by the time determined suffer the Punishment which his Impiety deserves.' Which was according fulfilled: For *Arius* the next Day voided his Entrails with his Excrements, and so perished by an ignominious Death. The same is related by *Athanasius*, who says he pray'd to God in these Words, *ἀρεὺν Ἀρεῖον*, Take *Arius* out of the World. All which shews, that in some Cases they made no scruple to devote incorrigible Apostates to Destruction.

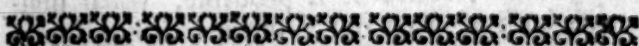
Yet this Practice is utterly descried by *Chrysostom*, who will not allow Men to anathematize either the Living or the Dead; and not Mens Persons, but only

## *Of the Objects of Church-Censures.*

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only their Opinions and Actions to be condemned. And if the Antients varied upon so nice a Point, it is not much to be wondred at, since the Moderns are not agreed upon it, that some Churches forbid all such sort of Excommunications.



### C H A P. III.

*Of the Objects of Ecclesiastical Censures, or the Persons on whom they might be inflicted : With a general Account of the Crimes for which they were inflicted.*



THE Objects of Ecclesiastical Censures were all Persons that fell into great and scandalous Crimes after Baptism. No Sex or Condition excused them from or put them out of the reach of the Censures of the Church, save when a multitude of Sinners combining, made it impossible to put them in Execution, or hazardous for fear of their doing more harm than good by the strict Execution of them. Infidels and Unbelievers were not considered in these matters, as being no Members of the Church. Catechumens were in a middle state between Heathens and Christians; and therefore neither were they the proper Objects of Church Discipline, save only as they were capable of being thrust down into a lower Class of their own Order, if they committed any Crime deserving such a Degradation, of which we have spoken before. Here we take Discipline as respecting only perfect Communicants, or Persons in full Communion with the Church.

In censuring these the Church made no distinction of Sex or Quality. For Women were subject to Discipline as well as Men. *Valesius* says, In Soc. l. 5. c. 19. they



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Rer. Lit. l. 1.  
c. 17.

Can. 34.

Elib. c. 5, 8, 10.  
Anc. c. 21.

Hier. Ep. 30.

they were very rarely put to do publick Penance; and *Bona* says, never at all for the three first Ages, but they wept and fasted, and did other Works of Repentance in private. And some take one of *St. Basil's* Canons in this sense. But *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* and the antient Canons make no such distinction. Neither is it probable, when multitudes both of Men and Women fell into Idolatry in times of Persecution, that the one did publick and the other private Penance only. Besides, *Cyprian* never speaks of any but the publick Confession, and Imposition of Hands, to reconcile Penitents after lapsing: and yet it would have been proper to have made that distinction, had there been any such in use. However, certain it is they were excluded from Communion, sometimes for Years, and in some Cases to the hour of Death, as appears from the Council of *Eliberis*, *Ancyra*, and others; and this shews them liable to Ecclesiastical Censure: Nay, there are some Instances, as *Bona* owns, of Women doing publick Penance in the time of *St. Jerom*.

Where the Crimes were flagrant, the Church usually proceeded without respect of Persons: all Criminals were considered alike, and equally obliged to comply with the Rules of Discipline, to gain admission into the Church, after an Expulsion. There was but one Door of Re-entry, which is so often called *Iusta & Legitima Pœnitentia*, the just and legal Penance, by *Cyprian* and other Writers: and no Commutation was thought an Equivalent, where this was wanting. Which is evident from this, That they would not accept any Gifts or Oblations from excommunicate Persons, or Hereticks or Schismatics, or any that were not in full Communion with the Church, lest this should look like communicating with them before their Time, and receiving their Money in lieu of Repentance. See before *Chap. 2.* and *Book 15. ch. 2.* Tho some did it, but they are severely censured by *Cyprian*.

Neither was it only private Men they treated thus, but also those of the highest Rank and Dignity:

nity : Civil Magistrates and Princes, as well as others. In the Times of Persecution, the very taking of some Civil Offices, such as the Office of the *Duumviri*, or the Provincial Office of the *Flamines*, or *Sacerdotes Provinciarum*, made Christians liable to Excommunication ; because they could not undertake them, without involving themselves in some measure in the guilt of Idolatry. So that the being in a publick Office was so far from exempting a Magistrate from the Censures of the Church, that it was the Reason why they were executed upon him. And when these Offices were freed from Idolatry, if a Magistrate was criminal, the Censures of the Church would lay hold on him. This appears from the Proceedings of *Synefius* against *Andronicus*, the governing Magistrate of *Prolemais*, mentioned before ; and many other Instances : to which we may add that general Rule of the 1st Council of *Arles*, made with relation to all Governors of Provinces, That when they went to the Government of any Province they should take Communicatory Letters from their own Bishop, along with them, and be subject to the Care of the Bishop of the Places wherever they went ; so as if they committed any thing contrary to the publick Discipline, they were to be excluded from the Communion of the Church.

We shall not wonder at this Power of the Church, when we find she laid a Claim to that of excluding Princes from her Communion, when guilty of notorious Violations of the Laws of Christian Society ; of which there are certain Evidences both in the Doctrine and Practice of the antient Bishops of the Church ; for which see *Eusebius, Hist. l. 6. c. 34.* *Chrys. de Babyla sive contra Gentiles.* *Paulin. Vir. Ambros. Ambros. Ep. 30. ad Valentin. Junior. & Theodoret. l. 5. c. 18.*

But here it may be proper to remind the Reader of that necessary Distinction between the greater and lesser Excommunication, and to observe that these Excommunications of Princes never went farther than to a prudent Admonition and

Book XVI. and Suspension of them from the Sacrament and the Holy Offices of the Church.

Yet as to what concerns the greater Excommunication, it is certain that in some Cases it was forbore not only with relation to Princes, but the People also. For Prudence directed them to do every thing for the good of the Church, and to use this severe Weapon only to Edification, and not to Destruction. And therefore when it was apparent, or but highly probable that the intemperate or indiscreet Use of it might do more harm than good to the Church, Reason and Charity both directed them to wave the Use of it.

Indeed there were three Reasons why the Antients forbore to anathematize Sovereign Princes. 1<sup>st</sup>. Because they thought they had no Power to excommunicate them in such manner, but only to deny them the Communion. 2. That heretical Princes did in effect excommunicate themselves by deserting the Church, and therefore the Church had no reason to pronounce an *Anathema* against them. 3. That the doing so might irritate the minds of those Princes to Persecution, and so do more harm than good to the Church.

And this Consideration of Expediency made St. *Austin* and others determine not only in the Case of Kings, but the People also, That when the whole Multitude were involved in the same Crime, then the Severity of Excommunication, especially the greater, was not safe, for fear of a bad Effect. A single Criminal might be brought to shame by a Separation from the Church, but a multitude of Criminals would encourage and bear up one another: and therefore in that Case the Church thought it not advisable to exercise her Authority upon them. St. *Austin* blames the *Donatists*, who were for rooting out the Tares wherever they found them, whatever Consequences might attend it. Tho he observes they did not keep to their own Rule: For they tolerated one *Optatus Gildonianus*, an infamous Man, for fear he should have carried off a multitude, and made new Schisms among themselves. St.

*Austin*

## Of the Objects of Church-Censures.

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Chap. 3.

Ep. 164. ad  
Emer. Donatist.

*Austin* does not blame them for this, but only objects it to them as an Argument *ad Hominem*, not to blame the Church for doing that in necessity, which themselves were forced to do upon the like Occasion. It was so in *Cyrian's* Time he says, and it was so in his own. He often repeats and urges upon this occasion the famous Passage in *Cyprian de Lapsis*, where he plainly intimates, that in such a corrupt State of Affairs the Discipline of the Church could not be maintain'd, or be rightly put in execution. It was impossible to exercise Church Censures with any good effect, when there were such multitudes of both Priests and People ready to oppose them, and rend the Church into a thousand Schisms rather than suffer themselves to be curbed or reformed that way: and therefore when no other practicable Method was left, the Divine Censure was necessary, as the last and only Remedy.

And this is what *St. Austin* so often tells the *Donatists*, that the Church followed the Example of *Cyprian* in this matter. But he argues farther himself for the necessity of the Practice, from the Reason and Nature of the Thing it self, and from the Precepts of the Gospel. In his Book against *Parmenian* he shews at large when Excommunication or Anathematizing is to be used, and when not: from all which we may abundantly learn his sense of this matter, and not only his, but the concurrent Opinion and Practice of the whole *African* Church, both in the Time of *Cyprian*, and the Collation of *Carthage*, to which he refers.

L. 3. c. 2.

Among other prudent Cautions in the management of this spiritual Sword, it was one, that they always took care it might affect Offenders only, and not involve the Innocent and Guiltless in the same Condemnation. It was not then the Custom to interdict whole Churches and Nations for the Faults of a single Criminal. *St. Austin* was amazed when he heard of a young *African* Bishop, who for the single Offence of one *Classicianus*, and that not evidently prov'd, had anathematiz'd both

Ep. 75. ad Auxil.

Vol. II.

X

him



Book XVI. him and his whole Family together : and from the Reproof he gave him we may conclude there was no such allowed Practice in the Church in his Time.

Some date the Original of Interdicts from the time of *Alexander III.* about the Year 1160. And indeed about that time they began to be frequent. *Archierat.* p. 746. *Habertus* says, *Morinus* carries them a little higher, to the Time of Pope *Hildebrand*, or *Gregory VII.* who is most likely to be the Father of them, for they are sometimes mentioned in his Epistles. *Habertus* himself makes them as antient as *St. Basil.* But the Place he cites in *St. Basil* says no more, but that when a whole Church make themselves Partakers of another Man's Sins, they may be all censured together : which is very far from the indiscriminating Censure of an Interdict, to condemn a whole Nation, and rather for their Duty than any Crime.

*Greg. 7. l. 1.  
Ep. 81.*

As to innocent Persons, all Care imaginable was taken that the Censures of the Church should not be abused by any indiscreet Application of them to the Condemnation of the Guiltless. For, besides that they thought an unjust Sentence would recoil upon the Head of him that executed it, the Antients prescribed several useful Rules to be observed in the matter of Excommunication. It has been noted that no one was ordinarily to be censured without a previous Admonition ; and it was likewise ordered, That no Man should be condemned in his Absence, without being allowed Liberty to answer for himself, unless he contumaciously refused to appear. Let Ecclesiastical Judges beware, says the fourth Council of *Carthage*, that they never pronounce Sentence against any one that is absent when his Cause is under Debate: Otherwise the Sentence shall be void, and they shall give an Account of their Actions to the Synod. Upon this ground *St. Austin* refuses the Censure which the *Donatists* pretended to pass upon *Cæcilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, because he was absent, and never examined before they proceeded to condemn him.

*Can. 30.*

Another

Another Rule in this Case was, That no one should be excommunicated unless he stood legally convicted of his Crime: which might be three ways. 1. By his own Confession. 2. By the Evidence of unexceptionable Witnesses. 3. By such Notoriety of the Fact as made a Man liable to Excommunication *ipso facto*, without any further Process, as in the Case of Lapsers, where there was no need of their own Confession or Witnesses, their Crime being it self apparent: Neither was there any need of a formal Sentence; for they stood excommunicated *ipso facto*, and the Fact it self was sufficient to declare them excommunicate. In other Cases they required either the Confession of the Party, or unquestionable Evidences. And this appears from St. *Austin*, Pope *Innocent*, *Origen*, and others. And this Rule of the Church was also confirmed by a Civil Sanction, forbidding all Bishops and Presbyters to segregate any Man from the Communion before his Crime was evidently proved against him; and ordering such an one immediately to be restored to Communion, and the Minister who suspended him, to be suspended by his Superior, *ut quod injuste fecit, juste sustineat*, that he may justly suffer the same Punishment which he unjustly inflicted upon the other. But then according to St. *Austin's* Rule, if the Criminal was accused and also convicted before the Judge, then the Judge might proceed against him lawfully, to punish, correct, excommunicate or degrade him. But otherwise, no Bishop could suspend a Clerk from Communion, unless he contumaciously refused to appear before him. And this St. *Austin* says, was determined in Council for greater security against arbitrary Proceedings. And it is observable in this Case, that the Canons never allowed the Testimony of one single Witness to be sufficient; tho it were a Bishop or Presbyter that accused. And therefore it was provided by the Council of *Vaison*, That tho a Bishop knew a Man to be Criminal, yet if he alone were privy to his Crime, and could make no other Proof of it, he should not so much as publish it,

Aug. Hom. 50.  
de Penit.  
Inn. Ep. 3. c. 4.  
Orig. Hom. 21.  
in Josue.

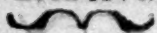
Just. Novel. 123.  
c. 11.

Cont. Ep. Parm.  
l. 3. c. 2.

Can. Apoc. 75.

Conc. Vafen. 1.  
c. 3.

Book XVI.



Can. 5.

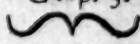
but deal privately with the Man by Admonition to bring him to Repentance. But if notwithstanding his Admonition he would persist pertinacious, and offer himself publickly to communicate, the Bishop should not have Power to excommunicate or cast him wholly out of the Church, but only injoin him to recede for a Time out of respect to the Bishop's Person, whilst he continued in the Communion of all those who knew nothing of his Offences. And even this was a greater Deference paid to the Testimony of a single Bishop, than was allowed in the *African Churches*. For there, by a Rule of the 7th Council of *Carthage* made in St. *Austin's* Time, if a Man confessed his Crime to a Bishop, and afterwards denied it, the Bishop was not to think he had any Injury done him, if his single Evidence was not taken by his Fellow Bishops to the Man's Condemnation: And if the Bishop presumed to excommunicate him, upon a scruple of Conscience that he could not communicate with such a one, the Bishop himself was not to communicate with other Bishops, that he might learn to be more cautious in saying that against any Man, which he could not prove by any other Evidence but his own Testimony.

Book 5. ch. 1.

It may be observed farther, That to secure the Innocent from being unjustly traduced and censured, there were many Laws forbidding the Testimony of Hereticks, or other suspected and infamous Persons, to be accepted in Judgment. But of these we have treated before, and shall therefore only remark, That the Antients were not more strict in their Discipline than they were cautious it should not affect the Innocent; and every Man was presumed to be innocent, till a just and legal Proof could be made against him.

But there were another sort of Persons whom the Censures of the Church seldom or never touched; and those were Minors or Children under Age, fatherly Rebukes and corporal Correction being thought fitter for them. Therefore *Socrates* observes of *Arsenius the Egyptian Abbot*, that he never

never used to excommunicate any *Junior Monks*, Chap. 3.  
but only such as had made a greater Proficiency :

For a young Man when he is excommunicated,  L. 4. c. 23.  
only becomes a Despiser. That this was the Discipline of the great Church of *Mount Nitria*, is observed by *Palladius* ; and the same is an Article Hist. Laus. c. 6.  
in the Rule of *Isidore of Sevil*. And *Cyprian* in the Life of *Casarius Arelatenfis* says, That Bishop observed this Method both with Slaves and Freemen, that when they were to be scourged for their Faults, they should suffer forty Stripes save one. The Council of *Agde*, *Mascon*, *Vannes* and *Epone* order the same ; and the Reason seems to be this, not so much the Distinction of Crimes, as of Age and Quality in the Persons.

Another Enquiry may be made whether ever any Excommunication was inflicted on Men after Death, if they died in the Communion of the Church ; whether upon any new Discovery of their Errors or Crimes after Death, they were liable to be excommunicated, and after what manner that Censure was passed upon them ? Now the Resolution of this Question in part will easily be given from a famous Case in *Cyprian* concerning one *Geminus Victor*, who contrary to the Rule of a Council, had made *Geminus Faustinus* a Guardian or Trustee by his last Will : for which Transgression, *Cyprian*, after his Death, wrote to the Church of *Furni*, where he had lived, to put the Sentence of the Council in Execution against him ; telling them that no Oblation ought to be made for his Death, nor any Prayer to be offered in his Name in the Church, according to the Custom of praying then for all that were departed in the Faith. This was a plain Excommunication of him after Death, by erasing his Name out of the *Dyptichs* of the Church. Such another Decree we find in the *African Code* against any Bishop who should make Hereticks or Heathens his Heirs ; and with this agrees what St. *Austin* says more than once, of *Cæcilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, That if what the *Donatists* objected against him were true and could be proved, the *Catholicks* were

Ep. 66. ad Cler,  
Furnit.

Can. 82,

Ep. 50. ad Bonif.



Book XVI. ready to anathematize him after Death. And there want not in Fact several Instances of this Practice. Thus *Origen* was excommunicated 200 Years after his Death, by *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*: *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia* by the fifth General Council; *Honorius* the Pope by the sixth; *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexandria* and some others by the same Council: all whose Names were erased out of the sacred *Diptychs* after Death, by Order of that Council. But sometimes it happened that Men were unjustly excommunicated either living or dead; and then the way to restore them was, by inserting their Names again into the *Diptychs*, whence they had been expunged before. And this was the Method both of condemning and restoring Men to the Communion of the Church after Death. And so far we have considered the Persons that might or might not be censured, whether living or dead.

Conc. Agath. c. 3.  
Aurel. 5. c. 2.  
Arvern. 2. c. 2.

The Crimes come next to be considered. And here the Canons are wont to make a nice Distinction between the greater and lesser Sins; the former only being what were regarded in Excommunications, according to the Orders of several Councils, particularly of *Agde*, *Orleance*, and that of *Arvern*, or *Clermont*, An. 549. If it be asked what the Antient Fathers meant by small Offences in this Business of Ecclesiastical Censure, and how they distinguished these from those greater Crimes, which made Men liable to Excommunication, and Publick Penance in the Church: It is certain the Antients did not believe any Sins to be venial, as that signifies needing no Pardon, but in that Sense all Sins to be Mortal in their own Nature, and such as we have need to ask Pardon for at the hands of God. But because there are some Sins of human Frailty, &c. these they usually call venial, as needing no other Repentance, but a general Confession. Besides these, there are other Sins of Wilfulness, and of a more malignant Nature, which if continued in, will prove mortal: And yet many of these were such, as did not ordinarily bring Men under the highest Censures of the Church, but were to be cured only by

by general Reproofs and Exhortations to Repentance. These also were termed lesser and venial Sins, in opposition to those which brought Men under Excommunication and publick Penance to make Atonement for them. But then there was a third sort, of a malignant, publick and flagrant Nature, of which Sinners might easily be impleaded and convicted: And these were what the Church inflicted her highest Severities on, unless where the multitude of Sinners or their Abettors, or the danger of Schism made the Thing impracticable. This distinction of Sins is accurately noted by St. *Austin* in his Book of *Faith and Works*: Aug. de Fid. c. 26. From which it is plain that all great and deadly Sins did not bring Men under the Censure of Excommunication, but only those of the third sort, which were of the highest Nature. So that many great Sins, such as Anger, evil Thoughts, evil Speaking, &c. are reckon'd by him in the number of lesser Sins, in comparison of Murder, Theft and Adultery, which he pronounces to be of the highest Nature. And upon this account he calls Publick Penance by the Name of *Pœnitentia Major*, the greater Repentance, for great and deadly Sins, in opposition to the lesser or daily Repentance every one is supposed to make for Sins of a lower Nature. And that this Distinction was used from the Beginning, appears from what the Learned *du Pin* has discoursed upon this matter, against Mr. *Arnaud* and others of his own Communion, to which we refer the Reader for fuller Satisfaction upon this Point.

*Du Pin Bibliothecque Cent. 4.*

As it was a general Rule not to use Excommunication for slight Offences, so we may observe, it was no Rule to use this Weapon, as in after Ages, for mere pecuniary Matters and temporal Causes. 'Tis true, Bishops sometimes sat Judges in Civil Causes, and their Determinations in such Cases were peremptory and final: But then their coercive Power in such Judicatures was not Excommunication, but Civil Punishments borrowed from the State, and which the State obliged it self to see duly put in execution, of which a

Book XVI. large Acconnt has been given before ; in which it is plain, that no kind of Ecclesiastical Censures were used upon those Decisions.

Book 2, c. 7.

L. 2. Ep. 34.

Can. 14.

Can. 4.

In Can. 32.

In Can. 4. Neoc.

Another thing very observable in this Matter, is, That no Bishop was allowed to excommunicate a Man for any private Injury done to himself ; because it looked like avenging himself, and was thought unbecoming his Character. This appears from a Letter of *Gregory the Great* to a certain Bishop who had excommunicated a Man for a private Injury done to himself, in which he says, You shew that you think nothing of heavenly things, whilst you inflict the Curse of *Anathema* for avenging a private Injury done to yourself, which the holy Canons forbid. That there were antient Canons to this purpose in his time, cannot be doubted from his Testimony, tho they may not be extant now ; only in general the Council of *Sardica* forbids Bishops to excommunicate any one in Passion or hasty Anger, and allows an Appeal in any such Case.

It is also worth noting, that the Church inflicted Excommunication upon Men only for Overt-Acts, and not for Sins in bare Design and Intention : for tho these Sins might be great before God, yet the Church was no proper Judge of the Heart, and therefore she did not ordinarily punish such Sins, till they made some visible Appearance in the outward Action. This seems to be the Meaning of that Canon of the Council of *Neocæsarea*, which says, ‘ If a Man purpose in his Heart to commit Fornication with a Woman, but his Lust proceed not into Action, it is apparent he is deliver’d by Grace :’ that is, he sins before God for his wicked Design, but the Church inflicts not Excommunication upon him, because his Intention proceeds not to any outward Act of Uncleaness. So *Zonaras* interprets it among the Antients, and *Osiander* among the modern Interpreters. Tho some think that such Intentions, if discovered by any Overt-Acts, might bring a Man under Ecclesiastical Censure,

The

The Case is more clear as to all forced and involuntary Actions, where the Will was no way consenting to them. For as they were free from Sin, so they were from Punishment. There were some indeed, who out of an affected Zeal and Pretence of Purity, were for excluding Men from Communion for such things, which were rather their Misfortunes than their Crimes: But the Council of *Ancyra* prudently corrected this erroneous Zeal by a Canon to this purpose; That Communion should not be denied to those who fled, but were apprehended or betrayed by their Servants, and suffer'd Loss of their Estates, or Torture, or Imprisonment, declaring all the while that they were Christians; tho they were held, and by Violence the Incense was put into their Hands, and they were forced to receive Meat offer'd to Idols into their Mouths, declaring themselves all the Time to be Christians, and shewing by their Behaviour, and Habit, and humble Course of Life, that they were sorry for that which happened; these being without Sin, are not to be debarred from the Communion. Or if by the superabundant Caution or Ignorance of any, they have been debarred, let them forthwith be received into Communion again. And the like is determined in the Case of Women who suffer Ravishment against their Wills, by *Gregory Thaumaturgus* and *St. Basil*; and so by *Dionysius of Alexandria*, *Athanasius*, and others, for any involuntary Defilement whatsoever. These were the general Measures observed by the Antients to distinguish great and small Offences, or Innocence from Sin, in order to shew what might or might not bring Men under the Censure of Excommunication. It remains therefore in the next Place, that we make a more distinct Enquiry into the Nature, and Kinds, and Degrees of those high Misdemeanours, in the following Chapters.

Greg. Thau. c. 1.  
Basil. c. 49. Dion.  
c. 4. Athan. Ep.  
ad Ammum.





C H A P. IV.

*A particular Account of those called Great Crimes, the principal of which was Idolatry. Of its several Species, and Degrees of Punishment allotted to them, according to the Proportion and Quality of the Offences.*



THE number of those which the Antients called great Crimes, and for which Excommunication was to be inflicted, is not agreed among the Learned. There were

De Fid. & Op.  
c. 19.

in St. *Austin's* Time Persons who confined them to three, Adultery, Idolatry, and Murder: These they allowed to be mortal, and punishable with the severest Church-Censures; but for all others, they said Compensation might easily be made by giving of Alms. But this Opinion St. *Austin* labours to confute in several Places: And therefore those Moderns do ill represent the antient Discipline who make it extend no farther than that number, or at most only to such Crimes as may be reduced to those three.

De Civ. Dei, l.  
21. c. 27. Hom.  
ult. ex 50.

Cod. Theod. l. 9.  
tit. 38. leg. 3.

Ibid. leg. 6.

In the *Civil Law* the List of great Crimes is much larger. For when the Emperors, as usual at *Easter*, granted an Indulgence to such as were imprisoned for their Misdemeanours, they still excepted several others which cannot be reduced to the three abovementioned. The Laws of *Valentinian* and *Gratian* except Sacrilege, Treason, robbing of Graves, Necromancy, Adultery, Ravishment and Murder. The Laws of *Theodosius the Great* except Treason, Parricide, Murder, Adultery, Ravishment, Incest, Necromancy, Counterfeiting

terfeiting of the Imperial Coin. And those of *Valentinian Junior* except Sacrilege, Adultery, Incest, Ravishment, Robbing of Graves, Charms, Necromancy, Counterfeiting the Coin, Murder, and Treason. Now when the *Civil Law* excepted so many great Crimes under the Name of *atrocia Delicta*, from the Benefit of these Indulgences, it is not probable that the *Ecclesiastical Law* would let them go unpunished.

But we have clearer and more certain Evidence in the Case. *St. Austin* says, The great Crimes which were punished with publick Penance, were such as were against the whole *Decalogue*, of which the Apostle says, *They which do such things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*. Only, as *Mr. Daille* observes, We must interpret this of Capital Crimes directly and expressly forbidden in the Law, and not of those lower Degrees of Sin which are reducible to them.

Supposing therefore, that there were many great Crimes against every Precept of the Moral Law which might subject Men to the Censure of the Church; we will proceed now in the Order of the Decalogue to consider the Nature, and Kinds, and Punishment of them. The great Crimes against the first and second Commandment, were comprized under the general Names of Apostacy and Irreligion; which comprehended the several Species of Idolatry; blaspheming and denying *Christ* in time of Persecution; using the wicked Arts of Divination, Magick and Inchantments; and dishonouring *God* by Sacrilege and Simony, by Heresy and Schism, and other such Profanations and Abuses, Corruptions and Contempts of his true Religion and Service: Which were all reputed great Crimes, and ordinarily punished with the severest Censures of the Church.

There were several sorts of Idolaters: The *Sacrificari* and *Thurificari*, or such as went openly to the Temples, and there offer'd Incense to the Idols, and were Partakers of the Sacrifices. And of these there were several Degrees: Some upon the Approach of a Persecution went voluntarily, and offer'd

Chap. 4.

Ibid. leg. 7, 8.

Hom. ult. ex ge.

Daill. de Confes.  
Auric. l. 4. c. 20.Cypr. Ep. 15. ad  
Cler. Rom.

Book XVI.

Ibid.

offer'd Sacrifice; whilst others underwent the Torture, and only sacrificed when Necessity compelled them. *Cyprian* makes a great Difference between these two sorts; as he does also between some who drew their Wives, Children, Servants, and Friends into the same Misfortune, and others who went and exposed themselves alone, to secure their Families and Friends from Danger; by this means protecting their own Relations, and also many Christian Brethren and Strangers who fled to them for shelter. They who did thus, he thinks more excusable than the voluntary Sacrificers who seduced others: And indeed not only *Cyprian*, but the Church also put a remarkable Difference between them, by a more peculiar Mark of Distinction in her Censures. There are several Canons in the Council of *Ancyra*, which plainly shew this. The fourth Canon orders such as went to an Idol-Temple in a Festival Habit, and with an Air of Unconcernedness, to do six Years Penance, whereas four were sufficient for those who went in Mourning, and wept the whole time of the Sacrifice. The eighth Canon orders those who repeated their Crime by sacrificing twice or thrice, to do a larger Penance, for seven Years. And by the ninth, if any not only sacrificed themselves, but compelled their Brethren, or were the Occasion of compelling them, then they were to do ten Years Penance, as guilty of a more heinous Wickedness. But such as did neither sacrifice, nor eat things offer'd to Idols, but only their own Meat on an Heathen Festival in an Idol-Temple, they were only confined to two Years Penance by the seventh Canon of the same Council. But these Canons chiefly respect such as transgressed after some Violence: Voluntary Apostatizers were more severely treated. The Councils of *Nice* and *Arles* appoint them twelve Years Penance before they could be restored to Communion; and the Council of *Valence* in *France* allows them Absolution only at the Hour of Death. The Council of *Eliberis* denies them even that, because this was the great and principal

Conc. Nic. c. 11.

Arelat. 2. c. 10.

Can. 3.

Can. 1.

pal Crime above all others. And sometimes Adultery and Murder were Concomitants of this Idolatry: Upon which account another Canon of the same Council orders, That if any *Christian* took upon him the Office of a *Flamen* or *Roman Priest*, and therein offered Sacrifice, doubling and trebling his Crime by Murder and Adultery, he should not be received to Communion at the Hour of Death. Concerning voluntary *Apostates* who continued their Rebellion till some Infirmary seiz'd them, *Cyprian* says that they were cut off from all Hopes of Communion and Peace: and the first Council of *Arles* denies them Communion at their last Minutes.

Can. 2.

Cypr. Ep. 52.

ad Anton.

Can. 23.

Another sort of Lapsers there were called *Libellatici*, from certain Libels or Writings they either gave to the Heathen Magistrates in private, or received from them, to be excused doing Sacrifice in publick. *Baronius* thinks there was but one sort of these; that they all denied Christ, either by themselves or others; but being ashamed to sacrifice, or deny him in publick, they made a private Renunciation, and for a Bribe got a Libel of Security to protect them against an Enquiry. But other Learned Men observe some Distinction among them: and indeed there seem to have been three sorts of them. Some expressly gave it under their Hands to the Magistrate, That they were no Christians, but would sacrifice if called upon: which *Cyprian* puts in the same Class with those that sacrificed. Another sort did neither abjure nor sign any Libel of Abjuration themselves, but sent either an Heathen Friend or a Servant to sacrifice or abjure in their Names, and thereby procure them a Libel of Security from the Magistrate, as if they had done what others did for them. And these the *Roman* Clergy in their Letter to *Cyprian* condemn equally with the former, saying, That this latter sort, tho they were not present at the Fact, yet they were in effect present by commanding it to be written and presented. The Canons of *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* take notice of this sort of Libellers, and appoint

Baron. an. 253.

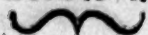
n. 20.

Cypr. de Laps.

Can. 6, 7.



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Ep. 52. ad Ant.

appoint their Punishment, making this Difference between a Master who compelled his Slave to go and sacrifice for him, and the Slave who was commanded: the Slave is ordered one, and the Master three Years Penance. The third sort were of such as told the Judge they were *Christians*, and could not sacrifice, and bribed him for a Libel of Security. And these *Cyprian* does not wholly excuse, but says, Tho their Hands and Mouths were not defiled with Sacrifice, their Conscience was. But forasmuch as they seemed rather to sin out of Ignorance than Maliciousness, he thinks their Case more favourable than those that sacrificed; and therefore since some Difference was made even among those that sacrificed, he thinks a greater Allowance should be made to these; tho he does not tell us what Penance was imposed upon them.

Can. 5.

Not much unlike this sort of Libellers were they who counterfeited Madnes in the Times of Persecution, to get themselves excused that way. But this was looked upon as a mere Collusion, and only a more artful way of denying their Religion: And therefore, by the Penitential Rules of *Peter of Alexandria*, they were subjected to Penance for six Months.

Can. 3.

Nay, not only Idolaters themselves were subjected to Ecclesiastical Censures, but all Promoters, Encouragers and Compliers with Idolatrous Rites were reputed guilty of Idolatry in some degree. Thus Christians taking upon them the Office of a *Flamen* or Heathen Priest, (part of whose Office was to exhibit the ordinary Games or Shews to the People) tho they did not sacrifice, were to do Penance all their Lives, by the Council of *Eliberis*. The Reason of which Severity was chiefly this: These Games were commonly held on the Heathen Festivals, and in Honour of their Gods, and were full of Idolatrous Rites, as well as Cruelty and Impurity; so that a Christian could not exhibit them, without incurring the Crime of Idolatry, at least indirectly by encouraging the Practice of it.

A lower Degree of this Crime was, when such a *Flamen* neither offered Sacrifices, not exhibited the Games at his own Expence, but only wore the Crown, which was usual in such Solemnities: Which being a Badge of Idolatry, by another Canon of that Council, two Years Penance was imposed upon them that were so far concerned in it. Can. 55.

But there is another Canon in the Council of *Eliberis*, which orders, That all Christians who took upon them the City Magistracy or Office, called the *Duumvirate*, should be deny'd Communion for the whole Year in which they held the Office, as guilty of some Offence against Religion. No Crime is mentioned, but Idolatry is understood. For the Reasons of this Canon will be easily understood from the Account given of this Office in the *Civil Law*: Where we learn that the *Duumviri* were the chief City Magistrates, chosen every Year; and it belonged to them, as well as the *Flamines*, &c. to exhibit the *Speſtacula* or Shows to the People. And for this Reason that Council ordered them to be kept from the Communion, during the Year they went thro that Office, as Encouragers of Idolatry, tho not so great as any of the *Flamines*. Can. 56.

Cod. Theod. l. 12.  
tit. 1. de Decu-  
rition. Leg. 169.

And for the same Reason all Actors and Stage-Players, Charioteers and Gladiators at those unlawful Sports, and all Frequenters of them were obliged either to quit these Practices, or be liable to Excommunication so long as they followed them.

Thus *Cyprian* denied Stage-Players to communicate. The Council of *Eliberis* refused them Baptism, whilst they continued such: The Council of *Arles* precluded them the Communion: And the third Council of *Carthage* supposes the Sentence of Excommunication to pass upon all such, when it says, That Actors and Stage-Players, and all Apostates of that kind shall not be deny'd Pardon and Reconciliation, if they return unto the Lord. The first Council of *Arles* determines the same in the Case of Charioteers at those Games.

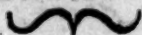
Ep. 61. ad Eu-  
crat.  
Can. 62.

Arelat. 1. c. 5.  
Cart. 3. c. 35.

And it appears from a Rule in the *Constitutions*, Can. 4.

that

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that no Charioteer, &c. was to be admitted to Baptism, unless they quitted those Callings. And it was no less Crime to frequent the Theatre as Spectators, as is noted in the same Rule of the *Constitutions*. Therefore, as an obstinate Adherence to these things debarred Catechumens from Baptism, so likewise it excluded baptized Persons from the Communion.

L. 8. c. 32.

De Idol. c. 11.

Ibid. c. 8.

Ep. 30. ad Val.  
Jun.

Another Way of contributing to the Practice of Idolatry was the Art or Trade of making Idols; and for that Reason Idol-Makers also were denied Baptism by the *Constitutions*. And what denied a Man one Sacrament, would also deny him the other. *Tertullian* calls such, Proctors and Purveyors for Idolatry, concluding the Trade of making Idols to be unlawful, as well as the Worship of them. And so did *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Justin Martyr* before him.

*Tertullian* brings the same Charge against all who contributed to the Worship of Idols, either by erecting of Altars, building of Temples, making of Shrines, beautifying and adorning the Idols, or any thing belonging to them: For it was the same thing whether a Man made an Idol, or adorned it. Upon this score, all who thus contributed toward the Worship of Idols, were ranked in the same Class with Idolaters, and subjected to the Censures of the Church. And this appears from that famous Remonstrance St. *Ambrose* made to the Emperor *Valentinian*, when he was solicited by *Symmachus* the Heathen to restore the Altar of *Victory* in the Capitol: He told him plainly, That if he did this, no Bishop would receive him to Communion, but every one courageously repel him, and be ready to give him a good Reason for their Opposition. They will tell you, says he, That the Church desires not your Gifts, because you have adorned the Temples of the Heathen with your Gifts: The Altar of Christ refuses your Oblations, because you have erected an Altar to the Idol-Gods.

Among other Promoters of Idolatry, they reckoned all Sellers of Frankincense to the Idol-Temples,

ples, and those who bought and sold the publick Victims. These also no Church would receive to Baptism, as *Tertullian* says, nor suffer them to continue in her Communion, if they were already in the number of the Faithful. The Case of eating things offer'd to Idols is resolved by the Apostle: It was never lawful to do it in an Idol-Temple, because that was to partake of the Sacrifice as a Sacrifice, and to communicate with Devils; which was an hardening of the *Gentiles*, and a Scandal to the Church of God. The *Nicolaitans* are condemned for this in Scripture; and the *Basilidians* and *Valentinians* by Writers of the following Ages. *Lucian* the Martyr chose rather to die with Hunger, than to eat Things offer'd to Idols. And *Baronius* gives another such Instance in the People of *Constantinople*, who when *Julian* had ordered all the Meat in the Shambles to be polluted with idolatrous Lustrations, they freely abstained from it, and used boiled Corn instead of Bread, so defeating the Tyrant's malicious Intention. Not that it had been any Idolatry to have eat such Meats in such a Case; according to the Rule of the Apostle, *Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles, eat; asking no Questions for Conscience sake*. And upon this Warrant of the Apostle, *Theodore* justifies the People of *Antioch* for eating in another such Case; which is noted by *Chrysostom* and others.

Ap. Baron. an.  
311. n. 6.  
Ann. 362.

L. 3. c. 15.  
Hom. 4. de Laud.  
Pauli.

But where there was any real Communication with Idolatry, or just Ground for a Suspicion of it, it was not allowable by any means to countenance it. For this reason the Council of *Eliberis* forbids any Christian to go to the Capitol or Idol-Temple, so much as out of Curiosity to see the Sacrifice offer'd, under the Penalty of ten Years Penance. But this Canon is to be understood, if he had no other Call but Curiosity to carry him thither; for if he went by any necessary Office, or Duty of his Station, this was no Crime: As, if he was of the Prince's Guard, he was guiltless, because he went not to see the Sacrifice, but to do his Duty. Thus *Theodore* says, *Valentinian*, when

Can. 59.

L. 3. c. 16.



Book XVI. he was Tribune, and Captain of the Guard to *Julian*, attended his Master to the Temple of *Fortune*; but when the Doorkeepers, according to Custom, sprinkled their Lustral Water upon those that went in, and a Drop of it fell on his Coat, he gave the Man a Blow upon the Face, telling him he did not think himself purified, but profaned. And by this Act, says *Theodoret*, he merited two Kingdoms, both an earthly and an heavenly. For *Julian* immediately banished him for the Fact, and confined him to a Castle in the Desert: But before a Year and a few Months were past, this noble Confessor was rewarded with the Imperial Crown, and the Dignity of the *Roman* Empire. By this it appears they put a great Difference between going to a Temple out of Curiosity, and going thither upon the Duty of their Function. *Tertullian*, who is as severe as any in this Matter, owns the Reasonableness of this Distinction, and gives the same Resolution in some other private and common Cases. He allows a Christian may be obliged to attend the Solemnity of giving a Youth the *Toga Virilis*, the Habit of a Man; that of *Espousals*, or *Nuptials*; or the *Manumission* of a Slave, or giving him a new Name. For all these things were innocent in themselves; and tho idolatrous Rites were usually mixed, yet a Man might be present without communicating in those Rites, distinguishing the Causes which required his Attendance. The being present barely to perform some other Duty, was not interpreted any communicating with Idolatry; because the very Tenour of his Obligation and Duty demonstrated it to be otherwise. But when there was no such Call, then to be present at an idolatrous Service, was a sufficient Reason to bring a Man under Ecclesiastical Censure.

Hence it was esteemed to imply some Disposition towards Idolatry for a Man to carry his own Meat, and eat it in an Idol-Temple: And therefore the Council of *Ancyra* made a Decree enjoining two Years Penance on those that did it. The Canon does not expressly call the Place an Idol-

De Idol. c. 16, 17.

Can. 7.

Idol-Temple, but *τόπον ἀσπασμένον*, a Place set apart for the Service; which whether we take it for a Temple, or any other Place of Feasting, is all one, since it was a Place appropriated to the Worship of the Idol on a Festival, dedicated to the Honour of some Heathen God. And all this sort of Feasting with the Heathen was forbidden, under the Notion of communicating with them in their Impiety; as it is expressly worded by the Council of *Laodicea*. Among the *Apostolical Canons* there is one also that forbids Christians to carry Oil to any Heathen Temple, or *Jewish Synagogue*, or to set up Lights on their Festivals, under the Penalty of Excommunication: Which shews, that Christians were sometime inclined to concur with the Heathens in this Practice.

Can. 39.

Can. 71.

We forbear to take notice in this Place of the Idolatry that might be committed in the Worship of Angels, Saints, Martyrs, the Virgin *Mary*, Images, and the Eucharist; because they have been spoken to before: And it will be sufficient here only to observe, That none but profest Hereticks were ever accused of this sort of Idolatry, in the Primitive Ages; such as the *Angelici* for worshipping Angels, the *Simonians* and *Carpocratians* for worshipping Images, and the *Collyridians* for worshipping the Virgin *Mary*: And these being Hereticks by Profession, there is no question but that the Censures of the Church were inflicted on them, and all such as adhered to, or went over to them; which is sufficient to remark here, for explaining and confirming the Exercise of Discipline in the Church.

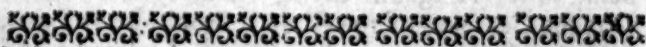
There is but one thing more to be noted concerning the Practice of Idolatry, which is, That all Favourers and Encouragers of Idolatry were reputed equally guilty as the Idolaters themselves.

Thus *St. Austin* charges the Magistrates of a certain City as Criminals in this respect, because they did not extirpate Idolatry when they had it in their Power; and were obnoxious to the Penalty of a Law to prohibit Heathen Festivals. So before Idolatry was forbidden by the *Imperial*

Ep. 202.

- Book XVI. *Laws*, whilst it was under the Countenance of Heathen Emperors, Christians were obliged not only to abstain from sacrificing, but not to lend an helping Hand to the Sacrifices. And for this reason the Council of *Eliberis* made an Order, that no Possessors or Landlords should allow of any thing brought in their Accounts, by their Managers or Tenants, as given to an Idol, under the Penalty of five Years Suspension from the Communion. And in another Canon they order all Masters to prohibit their Servants from retaining any Idols in their Houses, as far as lay in their Power; or if they could not do this in times of Persecution, for fear their Servants should use some Violence toward them, that is, inform against them or betray them, they should at least keep themselves pure, or otherwise be cast out of the Church. In times of Peace they were to carry their Power a little farther; for by a Rule of the second Council of *Arles*, every Presbyter within his own Territory or District was to prosecute all Infidels that still continued their Idolatrous Practices, under the Penalty of being reputed himself guilty of Sacrilege, if he neglected so to do. And every Lord, or Governour of the Place, who upon Admonition should refuse to correct such Errors in those under his Command, was to be deprived of the Communion. By another Council of *Eliberis*, lending their Apparel to the Heathen to set off the secular Pomp, *i. e.* the idolatrous Ceremonies, is forbidden, under three Years Suspension from the Communion. But there is one Case peculiarly guarded against in that Council, to correct a mistaken Zeal in the Christians who were apt to run into a contrary Extreme, and think themselves obliged to break and deface Idols wherever they found them; for the same Council forbids this unwarrantable Practice, and orders, That if any one was slain in such a Fact, he should not be enrolled in the Catalogue of Martyrs; because the Gospel gave no such Command, neither did the Apostles set any Example. And this is what *Cyprian* before them had
- Can. 40.
- Can. 41.
- Can. 23.
- Can. 57.
- Can. 60.
- Ep. 81.

had always taught, That they should raise no Tumults, nor offer themselves of their own accord to the *Gentiles*; but when they were apprehended and deliver'd up to the Magistrate, then to speak what the Lord put into their Hearts in that Hour, who would have us to confess him when called to do it, but not rashly put ourselves upon it. And thus the Antients steer'd their Discipline in this Matter of Idolatry, neither allowing any sinful Compliance with it, nor encouraging any indiscreet and over-zealous Opposition to it.



C H A P. V.

*Of the Practice of curious and forbidden Arts, Divination, Magick, and Inchantment; and of the Laws of the Church made for the Punishment of them.*



THE curious and forbidden Arts in use among the Antients, are reducible to three general Names, *Divination*, *Magick*, and *Inchantment*. *Divination* comprehends all the Arts and Ways of discovering Secrets, or foretelling Events not knowable by any Rules of Nature; *Magick*, all the Arts of mischievous Operations by secret and unknown Means, commonly called *Sorcery*, and by the *Latins*, *Veneficium* and *Maleficium*, from poisoning and doing Mischief; *Inchantment* chiefly relates to a pretended Skill and Power of doing Good, as curing Diseases by certain Charms, Words, Signs, Amulets, &c.

*Astrology*, or the Pretence of discovering Secrets by the Position and Motion of the Stars, was one of the most noted and infamous Kinds of Divination. The Professors of this Art were



Book XVI. called *Mathematici*, under which Name they are condemned in both the *Codes*. These were infamous to the *Romans* as well as the *Christians*; for the *Ars Mathematica*, the *Astrologers Art*, is forbidden by a Law of *Dioclesian* in the *Justinian Code*.  
 L. 9. t. 18. leg. 2. Tacitus says, All *Astrologers* and *Magicians* were expelled *Italy* by a Decree of the Senate in the Reign of *Tiberius*: But he likewise observes, That they were a sort of Men always forbidden, yet always retained. *Suetonius* says they were expell'd twice out of *Italy* in the Reigns of *Tiberius* and *Vitellius*. Now the Laws of the State, both *Heathen* and *Christian*, being so severe against them, it was but reasonable that the Censures of the Church should be as sharp, because they were a Species of *Idolaters*, and owed their Original to the Invention of wicked Angels. For this reason they are rejected Baptism by the *Constitutions*, unless they promised to renounce their Profession. The first Council of *Toledo* condemns the *Priscillianists* with *AnatHEMA* for the Practice of it; and *Eusebius* Bishop of *Emesa*, was forced to leave his Bishoprick upon that account. These *Astrologers* were sometimes called *Apotelesmatici*, and the Art it self *Apotelesmatica*, from their professing that Branch of *Astronomy* which taught the secret Effects and Powers of the Stars in their Oppositions, Conjunctions, &c. which Effects were called their *Apotelesmata*. *St. Austin* says they were also called *Genethliaci*, from pretending to calculate Mens Nativities, by erecting Schemes and Horoscopes, as they called them, to know what Position the Stars were in at their Birth, and thence prognosticate their future Fortune. And because some of these pretended to determine positively of the Lives and Deaths of Kings, which was reputed a dangerous Piece of Treason, the Laws of the State were more severe against them, even under the *Heathen Emperors*: And that was another reason why the Church thought it proper to pass her severest Censures upon them. It was this Crime expelled *Aquila* from the Church; and then he became a *Jew*, and in Revenge set upon

Vir. Tiber. c. 36.  
 & Vir. Vitel.  
 c. 14.

L. 8. c. 32.

Sozom. l. 3. c. 6.

Epiph. de Mens.

upon a new Translation of the Bible, to corrupt those Texts which had any relation to the Coming of Christ.

Another sort of *Divination*, was that which was called *Augury* and *Southsaying*; which was committed several Ways. Sometimes by observing several Signs and Appearances in the Entrails of the Sacrifices, called properly *Aruspicina* and *Haruspicium*. Sometimes by Observations upon the Motion, Flying or Singing of Birds; which was called *Augury*. Sometimes by Remarks made upon the Voice of Men, or their Sneezing, which was called an *Omen*, and the thing reputed ominous. Sometimes by observing certain Signs and Lineaments of the Body; as in the Hands, which was called *Chiromancy*; or in the Face and Forehead, which was called *μετωσκοπία*, or *Physiognomy*; or in the Back, called *παρασπονία*, with many Observations of the like Nature. But against all these the Church made very severe Laws. The

Council of *Eliberis* makes the Renunciation of Can. 62.

this Art a Condition of Baptism, if an Augur had a mind to be baptized; which is also a Rule in the *Constitutions*, the Councils of *Agde*, *Vannes*, *Orleance*, and others. The *Constitutions* not only

L. 8. c. 32.

censure Astrologers, Magicians, and Inchanters, but also wandring Fortune-tellers, Augurs, Soothsayers, Observers of Signs and Omens, Interpreters of Palpitations, Observers of Accidents in meeting others, and making *Divination* upon them, &c. And it is observable, That in the

*French* Councils last mentioned, the *Sortes sacrae*, Aurel. 1. c. 32.  
*Divination* by holy Lots, is particularly condemn-

Agath. c. 42.

ed. This sort of Divination was made by opening the *Bible*, as the Heathen used to do *Virgil*, and taking the first Passage that presented it self, to make their Augury upon. But notwithstanding the Censure of the Councils upon it, we find the Practice continued: For *Gregory of Tours* says Hist. 1. 4. c. 16. that *Kramnus*, Son of King *Clotharius*, consulted the Clergy of *Dijon* upon some Points, and they gave him an Answer by this sort of Divination. Some reckon *St. Austin's* Conversion owing to such a

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Aug. Conf. l. 8.  
c. 12.

fort of Consultation : But that is a great Mistake ; for it was owing to a providential Call. He says he heard a Voice he knew not whence, saying, *Tolle, lege; Tolle, lege;* Take up the Bible and read ; which he did, and the first Words he chanced to cast his Eye upon, were those of *St. Paul, Rom. 13. Let us walk honestly as in the Day, &c.* Which Words being apposite to his Case, he looked upon them as spoken directly to himself, and accordingly applied them to his own Condition ; and so by God's Providence they became the Means of fixing him in that Piety, Purity, and Sobriety, for which he was afterward so famous in the World. As to any other Use of the Scripture for *Divination*, *St. Austin* was an Enemy to it, and expresses himself very much against it.

Ep. 180.

In Jon. 1.

As for those which are called *Divisory Lots*, there is no harm in them, when apply'd to things in our own power ; as to dividing of Lands by Lot, &c. *St. Austin* allow'd such Lots as lawful, and the Church never made any Laws to forbid or censure them ; save only in disposing of Ecclesiastical Offices, and the Lives of Men, which are too sacred to be committed to mere Chance or Lots, without some special Direction, as in the Case of *Matthias* and *Jonas*, which *St. Jerom* says are not to be drawn into Example ; because special Privileges cannot make a common or general Law for all Cases : And it is plain, that without such special Direction, Lots of that kind will be Matter of mere Chance, or else pure *Divination*.

There were some other Ways of *Divination* far more abominable than the former, because they were done by express Compact with the Devil, and always implied his Concurrence and Assistance. Sometimes he gave Answers by his Images and Idols, which were called Oracles : Sometimes by speaking in his Prophets, called *Pythonici* and *Pythonissa*, possessed with a Familiar, or Spirit of *Divination* ; and *Eysasquidoti*, because they spake out of the Belly by the Navel. Sometimes Men used certain Ceremonies in sleeping in such a Posture

Posture in a Temple in the Skins of the Sacrifices, &c. to receive his Impressions and Answers by Dreams, which was called *Ὀνειρομαντεία*. Sometimes he gave Answers by Spectres and Apparitions from the Dead, which they called *Necromancy*. Sometimes he spake by the Skull of a dead Man, called *Κρανιομαντεία*. Sometimes he gave Answers by certain Signs and Figures made in the Earth, or Water, or Air, or a Glass, or a Riddle, &c. All which were liable to Excommunication. The general Name under which all the kinds of this *Divination* are condemned, is *Μαντεία*, prophesying or divining by Satan's Inspiration. The *Μάντις*, Oracle-mongers, are denied Baptism by the *Constitutions*. The *Οἱ καταμαντευόμενοι*, those that follow them, are to be excluded Communion, and do five Years Penance, by the Council of *Ancyra*. The *Vates* and *Harioli* are reckoned among such as practise forbidden Arts, by a Law of *Constantius* in the *Theodosian Code*; and both they, and such as consult them, are condemned to die, as guilty of a capital Crime and Offence against Religion. The *Harioli* were such as waited on the Altars to receive their Inspiration from the Fumes of the Sacrifices; and the *Vates* were those who pretended to prophesy by the perpetual Motion of an indwelling Dæmon; whom therefore the *Latins* called *Fanatici*, the *Greeks*, *Enthusiasticks*, and *Θεόληπτοι*, and *Θεοφορέμεινοι*, &c. Now because no Christian could practise this Art, nor consult those that did, without communicating with Devils, the *Civil Law* made it a capital Crime, and the *Ecclesiastical* punished it with the severest Censure of Excommunication. L. 8. c. 32.

Next to the Superstition of *Divination* was that of *Magick* and *Sorcery*; which commonly tending to work Mischiefs, the Practisers of it were usually termed *Venefici* and *Malefici*, because either by Poison, or other Means of *Fascination*, they wrought pernicious Effects upon others. These as they were condemned by the State, so also the Church was strict and severe against. The State condemned them to be put to Death; and the Council Can. 25.



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Can. 36.

Can. 25.

Can. 7, 65.

Can. 89.

De Idol. l. 9.

Can. 36.

In Psal. 9. 15.

L. 1. c. 23.

Council of *Laodicea*, under the Name of *Magicians* and *Inchanters*, to be cast out of the Church. The Council of *Ancyra* forbids the Art under the Name of *Pharmacy*, *φασμαξία*, (because they drew Men by *Magical* Potions, called *Philtrea* and *Pharmaca*, to commit Uncleanneſs) and appoints five Years Penance for any one that receives a *Magician* into his Houſe for that purpoſe. *St. Baſil's* Canons condemn it under the Name of *Pharmacy*, or *Witchcraft*, and lay thirty Years Penance upon it. The fourth Council of *Carthage* calls it *Inchantment*, and denies Communion to all that follow either it or *Augury*. And *Tertullian* particularly obſerves, That there never was a *Magician* or *Inchanter* allowed to eſcape unpuniſhed in the Church.

But there was one ſort of *Inchantment* very much in vogue notwithstanding; that was the Uſe of *Charms*, and *Amulets*, and *Spells* to cure Diſeaſes, or avert Miſchiefs both from themſelves and the Fruits of the Earth. Theſe *Charms*, &c. they called *Periammata* and *Phylacteria*, Pendants, and Preſervatives to ſecure themſelves from Danger, and drive away bodily Diſtempers; and were a ſort of *Amulets* made of Ribbands, with a Text of Scripture, or ſome other Charm of Words written in them, which they imagined to be eſſectual Remedies or Preſervatives againſt Diſeaſes: and ſo many Chriſtians were inclined to the Uſe of them, that the Church was forced to make ſevere Laws againſt them. The Council of *Laodicea* orders any Clergyman that ſhould make them, to be caſt out of the Church. *St. Chryſoſtom* often mentions them with ſome Indignation, calling them *Impoſtures*, *Witchcrafts*, and *Idolatry*. And the like *Invectives* are uſed againſt them by *St. Baſil* and *Epiphanius*. This Uſe of *Inchantment*, as *Ireneus* obſerves, was the Difference between Hereticks and the Church. *Ireneus* mentions the *Bafilidians* particularly, who had their Images which they uſed as *Amulets*, having the Name of *Abraxas* or *Abracadabra* written upon them. And *St. Auſtin*, *Serm. 125. de Tempore*, com-

complains very much of the Exercise of these Arts; tho' some think that Homily rather belongs to *Casarius Arelatenfis*: and if so, it only shews that this Crime prevailed in *France* among some, as it did for many Ages after; as appears from the *Capitulare* of *Charles the Great*, where Decrees were made against Calculators, Inchanters, and *Tempestarians*, as they are called, that is, Raisers of Storms and Tempests, and Obligators or Makers of Phylacteries to bind about the Neck; who are also noted and condemned in the Council of *Rome* under *Gregory the Second*, *Ann.* 721. and in the Council of *Trullo*, which forbids any one to consult Diviners, or those called *Centenarii*, or any such, to discover Secrets, under the Penalty of six Years Penance. It is plain from this, there were still some Remains of Heathenish Superstition and Idolatry among Christians; but it is hard to guess who are meant by the *Centurions* who are here joined with *Diviners*. *Gothofred* thinks a Law of *Honorius* in the *Codes*, gives light to this Canon: For there the *Chiliarche* and *Centenarii*, Captains of Thousands, and Captains of Hundreds, are spoken plainly of as Leaders of the People, and Managers in the Idolatrous Poms of the *Gentiles*; being joined with the *Frediani* and *Dendrophori*, which he shews to be those Officers who carried the Images of the Gods on their Shoulders in Procession. They were the Chief of certain Corporations or Companies, who are mentioned in another Law of *Honorius* under the Names of *Collegiati* and *Vituriarii* (or *Didumarii*) the Officers of *Apollo Didumaus*; and *Nemesiaci*, the Officers of the Goddess *Nemesis*; and *Signiferi* and *Cantabrarii*, who carried the Ensigns and Banners of the Gods in their Poms, &c. And these pretended to divine and tell Fortunes as inspired by the Gods; and they incorporated others into these Colleges, as principal Officers in these Poms: whence they were called *Chiliarche* and *Hecatontarche*, Captains of Thousands, and Captains of Hundreds. All which agrees with the Canon of the Council of *Trullo*, which joins the

Capit. Aquisgr.  
l. 1. c. 64.

Can. 12.

Can. 61.

Cod. Theod. l. 16.  
tit. 10. leg. 20.

Heca-

Book XVI. *Hecatontarchæ* with the *Vates* or Diviners, and makes them Fortune-tellers, by talking much of Fortune, and Fate, and Genealogies or Nativities, to deceive the People.

There is another sort of Impostors mentioned in the same Canon under the Name of *Γοντευται*, which is a general Name for all that use Tricks and Impostures; but is there taken for such as pretended to work Miracles by the Power of Magick. They are otherwise called *Θαυματοποιοὶ* and *Υπερδῆς* by the *Greeks*, and *Præstigiators* by the *Latins*. Their Tricks were chiefly shewed in making false Appearances, and imposing upon Men by the Delusion of the outward Senses. The antient Author of the *Recognitions* describes their Art under the Person of *Simon Magus*, who pretended to perform all those Deceptions. Now *Tertullian* observes that *Simon Magus*, for these juggling Practices, was anathematized by the Apostles, and cast off as an Alien from the Faith. And all such Sophisters, as he terms them, had ever the same Fate from the beginning of the Gospel. This might be confirmed by several Instances, especially of *Heresiarchs*, or Founders of new Heresies, who pretended to work Miracles, to gain a Reputation to their Opinions. The Heretick *Marcus*, the Father of the *Marcosians*, was one of this juggling Fraternity, of whom *Irenæus* says, That when he pretended to consecrate the Eucharist in a Cup of Wine and Water, he made it appear of a purple and red Colour, by a long Prayer of Invocation, that it might be thought the Grace from above distilled the Blood into the Cup by his Invocation. Such another Imposture is mentioned by *Firmilian* in his Letter to *Cyprian*, where he speaks of a Woman who pretended to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, but was really acted by a diabolical Spirit, by which she counterfeited Extasies, and pretended to prophesy, and wrought many strange things, and boasted that she would cause the Earth to move: Not that the Devil has so great a Power; but the wicked Spirit foreseeing and understanding there will be an Earthquake, pretends

L. 2. n. 9.

De Idol. l. 9.

3. c. 12.

Ep. 75. ad Cypri.

pretends to do what he foresees will shortly come to pass. And by these Lyes and Boastings the Devil subdued the Minds of many to obey him. And he made that Woman walk barefoot thro the Snow in the Depth of Winter, without Trouble or Harm. But at last one of the Exorcists of the Church discover'd her to be a Cheat, and shewed the wicked Spirit, which before was thought to be the Holy Ghost. There are many other Instances of the like nature, in the History of the *Montanists*, *Pepuzians*, *Apellians* and *Severians* mentioned by *St. Austin*: but these are sufficient to shew the Fallity of their Pretences, which the Church rejected as Impostures, and punished the Pretenders with the severest of her Censures, excluding them the Communion; and appointing the same Penance for those who professed Conjunction, *Consecration*, as for those that were guilty of Murder, that is, twenty Years in the several Stations of Repentance.

There was one Piece of Superstition more, which the Antients frequently censure as a Breach of Mens baptismal Vow, *viz.* The Observation of Days and Accidents, and making Presages and Omens upon them. *St. Chrysostom* has a large In-  
Hom. 21. ad  
Pop. Antioch.



## C H A P. VI.

*Of Apostacy into Judaism and Paganism;  
of Heresy and Schism, Sacrilege and  
Simony.*

**A**MONG the Crimes against the 1st and 2d Commandments, there were many others besides the forementioned, which brought Men under the severest Censures of the Church: And of these, Apostacy to Judaism was reckoned one; tho we may observe three Degrees of it. Some entirely abandoned Christianity, and went over to the Jews. Others mingled the Jewish Ceremonies and some of their Doctrines with the Christian Religion; and others complied so far as to communicate with them in many of their unlawful Practices, tho they made no formal Profession of their Religion. Of the first sort were *Aquila*, and many in the days of *Barchobab* the great Impostor. Now tho the Imperial Laws allowed the original Jews a freedom of their Religion, yet they severely punished Renegadoes to them. *Constantine* left it to the discretion of the Judges to punish such with Death, or any condign Punishment. *Constantius* subjected them to Confiscation of Goods; and *Valentinian Junior* laid upon them the Penalty of being interlate. The Church in like manner, after she had anathematized such Apostates, shewed her farther Detestation of them, by denying them the Privilege of being accepted as credible Witnesses in any of her Courts of Judicature.

Of the 2d sort, who blended *Judaism* and *Christianity* together, was the Heresy of the *Nazarenes*, *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians*, *Elcesaites*, and *Sampsseans*, who

Cod. Theod.

l. 26. tit. 8.

Leg. 1.

Ibid. Leg. 7.

Cod. Theod. l. 16.

tit. 7. Leg. 3.

Conc. Tolet. 4.

c. 63.

who observed Circumcision and other Rituals of the Jewish Law, together with so much as they retained of the Christian; as *St. Austin* observes, And *Gothofred* thinks the *Cœlicola* specified and condemned in two or three Laws of *Honorius* in the *Theodosian* Code, were a mongrel Sect of the same Nature. They join'd Circumcision and Baptism together; agreeing both with *Jews* and *Christians* in rejecting Idols, and worshipping only Heaven, i. e. the God of Heaven, whence they had their Name; but in this they agreed with the *Jews* only, That they rejected the Doctrine of a Trinity, and only worshiped God in one Person. In which respect the *Sabellians* also, and *Paulianists*, the *Praxeans* and *Theodotians*, the *Arians* and *Photinians* are commonly charged by the Antients as flying back to *Judaism* in this Point; whilst they subverted the true Doctrine of the Christian Trinity by their Heterodox Innovations.

There was another Sect which called themselves *Hyphistarians*, i. e. Worshipers of the most High God, whom they worshiped as the *Jews*, only in one Person: And they observ'd their Sabbaths, and used distinction of Meats, clean and unclean, tho they did not regard Circumcision; as *Gregory Nazianzen*, whose Father was once one of this Sect, gives the Account. Now it is certain, the Church never allowed any of these mongrel Sects, but condemned them all as Hereticks, and excluded them from her Communion.

But besides there was yet a 3d sort of Christians, who neither went wholly over to the *Jews* Religion, nor complied with them in any main Point, yet refused not to communicate with them in some Rites and Practices, as in observing their Festivals, and feasting, and marrying with them, and receiving their *Eulogia*, and having recourse to them for Phylacteries and Charms to cure Diseases: All which are therefore condemned under the Penalty of Ecclesiastical Censure. Hence to rest on the Sabbath incurred an *Anathema*, by the Council of *Laodicea*: To fast or feast with the *Jews*, was Deposition to a Clergyman, Excommunication to a Layman;

Chap. 6.

De Hæret. c. 8, 9, 10.

Orat. 19. in Fun. Pat.

can. 29.

## Book XVI.

Can. 70.

Can. 49.

Can. 40.

Vener. c. 12.

Epaun. c. 15.

Arver. c. 6. Au-

rel. 3. c. 13.

Layman; by the *Apostolical Canons*: as also to carry Oil to a *Jewish* Synagogue, or to set up Lights on their Festivals; by the same Canons. So a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, who celebrates *Easter* Festival before the *Vernal Equinox*, with the *Jews*, is to be deposed. No Christian was to have recourse to the *Jews* for blessing the Fruits of the Earth, under Excommunication, by the Council of *Eliberis*: and both Clergy and Laity are forbidden to eat with the *Jews*, upon pain of being cast out of Communion, by a Decree of the same Council. And the Council of *Agde* assigns the Reason; because they use not the Meats that are commonly used among Christians: Therefore it is an unworthy and sacrilegious Thing to eat with them: For as much as they reputed Things unclean, which the Apostle allows us to receive; and so Christians are rendred inferior to the *Jews*, if we eat of such Things as they set before us, and they condemn what we offer them. The same Canon is repeated in the Council of *Vannes*; and that of *Epone* has one to the same purpose. Complying and judaizing Christians are censured by the 4th Council of *Toledo* in several Canons. The Council of *Clermont* and the 3d of *Orleans*, prohibit marrying with a *Jew*, under the Penalty of Excommunication: And whenever any were convicted of these Crimes, they were sure to feel the utmost severity of Ecclesiastical Censures.

Another sort of Apostates were such as fell away voluntarily into Heathenism; having professed Christianity for some time. To such the *Imperial Laws* deny'd the Privilege of *Roman* Subjects. They might not make a Will, or enjoy the Benefit of another's. They were to have no Commerce or Society with others; their Testimony was not to be taken in Law; they were to be infamous and of no Credit among Men, among whom they were allowed to live without banishing, only to enhance their Punishment. Nay, they were never to regain their antient State: tho they repented and return'd, it should be no Benefit

Benefit to them in this respect. And as to their *spiritual Estate*, some Canons treated them as severely. The Council of *Eliberis* denies them Communion to the last, as *Cyprian* says, many of his Predecessors in *Africk* had used to do. And tho this Rigour was a little abated in his Time, yet they still held idolatrous Apostates to Penance all their Lives: neither were they admitted to Reconciliation at the point of Death, unless they had returned and submitted to Penance voluntarily, in the time of Health. This *Cyprian* assures us, and the first Council of *Arles* has a Decree to the same purpose. The true Reason of which Severity was to deter Men from depending too much upon a Death-Bed Repentance. For except in the Case of Martyrdom (which *Cyprian* allows) such Apostates had no time to demonstrate by their Works, that they were real Penitents; and therefore the Church deny'd them Absolution.

The next sort of Delinquents against the first Commandment were Hereticks and Schismatics; of which as there were different Degrees, so both the Church and State treated them in their Punishments according to the difference of their Demerits. The Penal Laws which the Emperors made against Hereticks, from the time of *Constantine* to *Theodosius Junior* and *Valentinian III.* are to be found at length under their respective Titles, in both the *Theodosian* and *Justinian Codes*; and therefore we shall refer the Reader thither for them.

As to what concerns the Discipline of the Church in respect of Hereticks, we may observe first, that Heresy was always accounted one of the principal Crimes that a Christian could be guilty of, as being a sort of Apostacy from the Faith, a voluntary Apostacy, which aggravated the Guilt. Hence *Cyprian* makes them worse than Lapsers in times of Persecution; and St. *Austin*, and *Chrysostom* join with him in this Opinion: and chiefly for this Reason, because they say a Lapsar may afterward become a Martyr, and obtain the Promises of the Kingdom; but an Heretick being



Book XVI.  out of the Church, cannot attain to the Rewards of the Church, altho he be slain for Religion. But notwithstanding these had cut themselves off from the Communion of the Church, and stood self-condemn'd by a voluntary Excommunication, the Church ordinarily pronounced a formal *Anathema* against them; as the Council of *Nice* ends her Creed with one against all those who opposed the Doctrine there delivered; and the Council of *Gangra* closes every Canon with an *Anathema* against the *Eustathian* Hereticks: and there are innumerable Instances of this kind in the Councils.

Can. 6.

When they were thus formally excommunicated, they were by some Rules of Discipline debarred the lowest Privileges of Church-Communion. By a Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, they were not permitted to enter into the House of God. But this Rule was not general: Because, as has been before observed, in some Churches Hereticks were allowed, together with *Jews* and Heathens, to come into the Church, and hear the Sermon preached and the Scriptures read, since these were proper for their Instruction. And if Hereticks were at any time deny'd it in those Churches, there was some very particular Reason for it.

Can. 45.

But tho Hereticks were permitted the Churches, Catholicks were not allowed to frequent the Assemblies of Hereticks or Schismatics. The Prohibition was peremptory and universal, that no one should join with Hereticks in any religious Offices, and least of all in their Conventicles, under pain of Excommunication. If any Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon, say the *Apostolical Canons*, pray with Hereticks, let him be suspended: but if he suffer them to officiate as Clergymen, let him be deposed. The Councils of *Laodicea* and *Carthage* order much to the same effect. And; if a Catholick, says the Council of *Lerida*, offers his Children to be baptized by Hereticks, his Oblation shall not be received in the Church. But this is to be understood with some Restriction, where a Man may have Baptism from a Catholick; for other-

Can. 13.

otherwise in a Case of necessity, the Baptism of an Heretick has been allowed.

Chap. 6.

There were other marks of Infamy set upon Hereticks by the Laws of the Church, to give Men the greater Abhorrence of them: but having spoken fully of them before, in the general Description of the Church's Treatment of excommunicate Persons, we shall omit the Repetition of them: Only there are two things of this kind it may be proper to be a little more particular in.

1. That by the Laws of the Church, as well as the State, Hereticks were rendered infamous, and their Testimony not to be taken in any Ecclesiastical Cause. It was not to be taken against a Bishop, by a Rule of the *Apostolical Canons*: And in the *African Code* there are two Canons to this purpose. The one forbids all excommunicate Persons, (among which Hereticks are included) and the other, Hereticks by Name, to be Evidence against any Man, except it were in some matter of their own private Concerns, in which Case every Man was to have Justice, and any Man to accuse another. And the same equitable Distinction is made by the general Council of *Constantinople*.

Can. Apof. 75.  
Cod. Afric. c.  
129 & 130.

But if the matter was purely Ecclesiastical that was in question, then the qualities of the Accusers were to be examin'd, and in the first place Hereticks are not allowed to accuse Orthodox Bishops in Causes Ecclesiastical; neither any excommunicated Persons, till they had made satisfaction for their own Crimes. This is evident from the Case of *Cacilian Bishop of Carthage*, who being accused by the *Donatists*, *St. Austin* declared, That neither Piety, nor Charity nor Truth would allow the Testimony of those Men against him. And long before him *Athanasius* pleaded the same in his own behalf, That his Accusers were *Meletians*, who ought not to be credited, being Schismatics, and Enemies both to him and the Church. And farther, in *St. Austin's* Time, the Evidence of Hereticks might not be admitted against Presbyters: for in the Case of *Secundinus*, a Presbyter of *Germanicia*, in his own Diocese,

Can. 6.

he

Ep. 50. ad Bonif.

Apol. ad Const.

Book XVI.

Aug. Ep. 212.

he says, Against a *Catholick* Presbyter we neither can nor ought to admit the Accusations of Hereticks. *Gratian* has collected many such Rules out of the Epistles of the antient Popes, which tho they be spurious, yet they are founded upon the known Practice of the Church.

Can. 13.

The 2d thing here to be observed is, That by the Laws of the Church all Men, Ecclesiasticks at least, were obliged to discourage Heresy, by denying obstinate Defenders of it such temporal Benefits and Privileges, as were in their Power to deny them. Thus the third Council of *Carthage* forbids the Bishops and Clergy to confer any Donations upon Hereticks, tho they be of their Kindred, either by Gift or Will. And the *Civil Law* gave force to this Decree, by rendring all Hereticks intestate, *i. e.* uncapable either of disposing of their own Estates, or of receiving any Benefit from the Wills of others.

Another Law of this kind was that which forbid the Ordination of such as had been baptized by Hereticks, or fell away after a regular Baptism. But this was a piece of Discipline might be dispensed with: For tho the Council of *Eliberis* insisted on it, the Council of *Nice* dispensed with the *Novatians*; and the *African* Fathers admitted the *Donatists*, to encourage those Schismatics to return to the Unity of the Church, as has been observed before, *Book 4th, c. 3.* where also another Rule is noted relating to the matter in hand, *viz.* That no one shall be ordained Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon, who had not first made all the Members of his Family Catholicks. This Rule we find in the Council of *Carthage* where *St. Austin* was present: and there is no question but that it was chiefly design'd against the *Donatists*; tho it equally affects all Hereticks and *Jews* and *Pagans*, and their Abettors: and as it tends directly to discourage Heresy, we mention it as a Branch of the antient Discipline, worthy our Observation.

Can. 87.

Neither is another Rule of the 4th Council of *Carthage* to be passed over, which forbids *Catholicks*

*tholicks* to bring any Cause before an heretical Judge, under pain of Excommunication. And this was one way to discountenance Heresy in Men of the highest Station: and for this Reason the Church enjoined it, to give a check to Hereticks, by obliging Catholicks to end their Controversies among themselves, and have no Communion with Hereticks and Unbelievers.

Hitherto we have considered the Punishments laid upon Hereticks continuing in their Obstinacy; we are now to view the Discipline of the Church, when they were relenting, and shewed a disposition to return to the Unity of the Church. The Council of *Eliberis* appoints ten Years Penance before they should be admitted to Communion; only an Exception is made in the case of Infants, because their Fault was not their own, but their Parents: therefore they are ordered to be admitted without delay. The Council of *Rome* under *Felix* particularly marks Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, suffering themselves to be rebaptized by Hereticks; and orders them to be deny'd Communion even among the Catechumens, all their Lives, and only Lay-Communion at the hour of Death. Others are enjoined twelve Years Penance, by the same Council, unless they had the Plea of Necessity, or Fear or Danger, to excuse them; Children only excepted. The Council of *Agde* reduc'd their Penance to three Years, and the Council of *Epone* to two only.

Can. 22.

An. 487. c. 2.

Can. 60.

Can. 29.

Some of the Canons made a great difference, as in the Age, so in many other Cases of the like nature. They who were baptized and educated in the Catholick Faith, and fell into Heresy, were more severely treated; especially if their Heresies required them to take a new Baptism: whereas Hereticks born were more favourably treated; as appears from *St. Austin*. This distinction was particularly observed with relation to such Persons as were baptized in their Infancy among the *Donatists*, by the *African* Synods. Such were allowed the Privilege of Ordination upon their return to the Church, by the Council of *Car-*

Ep. 48. ad Vinc.

Cod. Afric. c. 48.



Book XVI. *thage, Ann. 397.* The Council of Nice granted the same Indulgence to the *Novatian* Clergy: But we rarely find any who had deserted the Church allowed this Privilege. Yet Considerations of Prudence sometimes obliged the Church to dispense with those Laws also: But then she always set a Mark upon *Heresiarchs*, commonly degrading them, without Hopes of Restitution. St. *Austin* takes notice of this Difference in the Case of the *Donatists*: He says *Donatus* was condemned, being the Author of the Schism; but the Church order'd the rest to be received in their Clerical Honours, upon their Repentance.

Can. 8.  
Ep. 50. ad Pon.

Ep. 77. ad Nic.  
c. 6.

Another Distinction also was made of Hereticks deserting voluntarily, and such as did it by Compulsion, as appears from the Direction given by Pope *Leo* to the Bishop of *Aquileia*, to put the former under Penance, but to treat the latter with Moderation.

Another Difference was made between Hereticks that retained the due Form of Baptism and those that wholly rejected it, or corrupted it in any essential Part. The former were to be received only by Imposition of Hands; but the other only as Heathens, and were to receive a new Baptism, as has been shewed before.

Finally, They made some Distinction between contumacious Hereticks after Admonition, and such as never had any Admonition, or amended upon the first. Till the Church had given them a first and second Admonition, they were not reputed formal Hereticks; nor treated as such, till Contumacy was joined to their Error. This is evident from St. *Austin* in several Places.

The like Distinctions were observed in inflicting the Censures of the Church upon Schismatics, according to the different nature and various degrees of their Schism. Absenters from Church for two or three Lord's Days successively, without just reason, were punished with as many Weeks Suspension. Communicants that withdrew themselves from the Eucharist, as if they had been Penitents,

Penitents, were denied the Privilege of making Oblations, and excluded for some time from all other Offices of the Church. A third sort of Separatists, who were most properly Schismatics, were such as withdrew totally from the Communion of the Church, pretending her Communion was polluted and profaned by the mixture of Sinners; or finding out such other Reasons to charge her with sinful Terms of Communion, and justify their own Separation by many the like Pretences: of which the History of the *Novatians* and *Donatists* affords many Instances. Now against these the Church proceeded to an *Anathema*. But having spoke of these Schismatics and their Punishments, in discoursing of the Unity of the Church, no more is needful. Let us therefore proceed to another Crime, viz. that of *Sacrilege*, which comes next in order to be considered.

Against real Sacrilege none could be more zealous than the Antients, tho they did not reckon every thing Sacrilege which the *Roman* Casuists now do. To divert any thing to private Use that was given to the publick Use of the Church, such as Wax, Oil, the sacred Vessels of Gold, or Silver, or Linen, was Excommunication by the *Apostolical Canons*. To deny the Church such Oblations as are given by the Dead, or deliver them not without Difficulty, was esteemed a denying of the Faith, a Murder of the Poor, and punished with Excommunication by the fourth Council of *Carthage*, and the second of *Vaison*. Hence one of the Fathers says, To take from a Friend is Theft; but to defraud the Church is Sacrilege. This is cited by St. *Jerom*. But St. *Ambrose* goes a little farther, and says, That they who give their Estates to the Church, and retract and revoke them again, are guilty of Sacrilege; and the Canons punished such alike also with Excommunication; reducing Clergymen, when found guilty of this Crime, to the Communion of Strangers, which was a Punishment peculiar to them: Of which more hereafter.

Can. 72, 73.

Can. 95.  
Can. 42

De Pen. l. 2. c. 9.

Conc. Agath. c.  
4, 5, 6. Turon.  
2. c. 24. Arel.  
2. c. 23.

## Book XVI.



Ep. Canon. ad  
Lero. can. 6, 7.

Can. 45.

Can. 13.

Cont. Cresc. l. 3.  
c. 27.

L. 6.

Ep. ad Fab. ap.  
Euseb. l. 6. c. 43.

Robbing of Graves was another Crime that fell under the Denomination of Sacrilege, and also defacing and spoiling the Monuments of the Dead ; these being always esteemed inviolable Sanctuaries even by the very Heathen. The Imperial Laws made it a piacular Crime, and punished it with Fines, Tortures, Transportation and Death : And the Ecclesiastical Laws pursued it with spiritual Penalties, agreeable to her spiritual Regimen and Jurisdiction. *Gregory Nyssen* says, The Holy Fathers teach us to place the Violation of Burial Places among those Sins which are to be expiated by publick Penance ; and that when Men raked into the Ashes of the Dead, and disturbed their Bones, in pursuit of Treasure, Clothes, or other Ornaments, they were punished with nine Years Penance, in the several Stations of Repentance. The fourth Council of *Toledo* makes it a double Punishment for any Clergyman to be guilty of this Crime ; appointing him to be deposed, and after that do three Years Penance for such his Transgression.

Another kind of sacrilegious Persons were called *Traditors*, for delivering up their Bibles, and the sacred Utensils of the Church, to the Heathen to be burnt, in the time of the *Dioclesian* Persecution. The first Council of *Arles* makes this Deposition for a Clergyman ; and *St. Austin* says that such deserved to be anathematized, neither would the Catholicks scruple to do it, even after Death.

*Optatus* objects to the *Donatists* their breaking and burning the Communion Tables in the Catholick Churches, and ordering the Eucharist which they found there to be thrown to the Dogs, as other kinds of Sacrilege. And it was a like Profanation of it which *Cornelius* charges upon *Novatian*, when he obliged his Partizans, instead of saying *Amen* at the Reception of it, to swear by the Body and Blood of Christ, that they would never desert his Party, nor return to *Cornelius*. It was also accounted Sacrilege to give the Catholick Churches to Hereticks, or to turn them to profane Uses, as Stables, &c. of which there are some

some Instances. And some of the antient Councils reckon all sorts of Idolatry, Divination, and Magick, and the Abuse of the Scriptures for Lots, Charms, and Amulets, among the Species of Sacrilege: But those having been spoken of before, we shall only add, that to molest or hinder a Clergyman in the Performance of his proper Office, by Avocation to other Business, is, in the *Civil Law*, called Sacrilege. *Constantine*, in his first Settlement of Religion, made a Law, That they who administred in the Service of God should be excused from all personal Duties of the State; that the *sacrilegious* Envy of some might not withdraw them from the Service of Religion. And agreeable to the Tenour of this Law, we find a Rule of the Church as antient as *St. Cyprian*, That no one should employ a Clergyman in the Business of a Secular Trust, &c. under the Penalty of Excommunication, or having his Name blotted out of the *Dptychs* of the Church. Add to this, there is a Law of *Honorius* which charges the Crime of Sacrilege upon all that offer'd any Injury or Affront to Ministers officiating in the Church, or to the Service itself, or to the Place; ordering all such Criminals to be notified by public Officers (not waiting for the Bishop's Accusation of them) to the Governour of the Province, who was to proceed against them, and condemn them with the Punishment of Capital Offenders.

Cod. Theod. l. 16.  
tit. 2. leg. 2.

Ep. 66. ad Cler.  
Fur.

Cod. Theod. l.  
16. tit. 2. leg. 31.

The depriving Men of the Use of the Scriptures, and of the Cup in the Lord's Supper, was another kind of Sacrilege among the Antients; which the Casuists of the Church of *Rome* do not now think fit to mention: Tho *Gelasius*, one of their own Popes, asserts it particularly concerning the Communion, in the following Decree, as it is extant in their *Canon Law*: 'We understand  
' there are some who receive only a Portion of  
' the Holy Body, and abstain from the Cup of  
' the Holy Blood; who doubtless being bound by  
' some vain Superstition, ought either to receive  
' the whole Sacrament, or to be excluded from the  
' whole;

Ap. Gratian.  
Dist. 2. c. 12.



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Serm. 4. de Quad.

‘ whole ; because one and the same Myſtery can-  
 ‘ not without grand Sacrilege be divided.’ Pope  
 Leo alſo orders ſuch ſacrilegious Dividers to be  
 excommunicated. And they who take the *Eu-*  
*chariſt*, and uſe it for any other End beſides Com-

municating, are cenſured by the firſt Council of  
*Toledo*, Can. 14. that of *Casarauguſta*, Can. 3. as  
 ſacrilegious alſo, deſerving to be baniſhed the  
 Church with *Anathema* or Excommunication.  
 There were many Hereticks in the antient  
 Church, who were guilty of Sacrilege in relation  
 to the other Sacrament of Baptiſm. Some rejec-  
 ted it, others corrupted it in the material Part,  
 and others in the Form of Words : Of all which  
 there is an Account in a former Book. But there  
 were none that ever denied Chriſtians their pro-  
 per Birth-right, which is to read the Scriptures.  
 This is a Piece of Sacrilege peculiar to theſe later  
 Ages ; and the only reaſon why there are no Cen-  
 ſures antiently to be found againſt it, is, becauſe  
 the Sin it ſelf was utterly unknown to the Primi-  
 tive Ages.

The laſt Species of Sacrilege is Simony, which  
 is commonly diſtinguiſhed by the Antients into  
 three ſorts. 1. Buying and ſelling of ſpiritual  
 Gifts. 2. Buying and ſelling of ſpiritual Prefer-  
 ments. 3. Ambitious Uſurpation and ſacrilegious  
 Intruſion into Eccleſiaſtical Functions, without  
 any legal Election or Ordination. The firſt had  
 the Name from *Simon Magus*, who pretended to  
 purchaſe the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt. And this  
 was always thought to be committed, when Men  
 either offer’d or received Money for Ordinations ;  
 which was ever puniſhed with the ſevereſt Cen-  
 ſures of the Church. The *Apoſtolic* Canons inflict  
 both Depoſition and Excommunication upon ſuch  
 of the Clergy as were found guilty of this Crime.  
 The Ordainer and the Ordained were puniſhed  
 alike. The General Council of *Chalcedon* has a  
 Canon to the ſame purpoſe ; and ſeveral Councils  
 have the like Decrees againſt this Crime. Parti-  
 cularly the eighth Council of *Toledo* makes it  
 both Degradation and Excommunication in every  
 Clerk

Can. 29.

Can. 2.

Can. 3.

Clerk so ordained: and also punishes the Receivers of Simoniack Gifts with equal Severity; if Clergymen, with the Loss of their Honour; if Laymen, with perpetual Excommunication to the Hour of Death.

The Antients also reduce to this kind of Simony the exacting of any Reward for administering Baptism, or the Eucharist, or Confirmation, or Burying, or Consecration of Churches, or any the like spiritual Offices. The Council of *Trullo* Can. 23. forbids any Clergyman to require any thing for administering the Eucharist: And he that does, is to be deposed as a Follower of *Simon Magus*. To take Money for Promotions to holy Orders, for administering Baptism, Confirmation, or Chrism, is forbidden by the eleventh Council of *Toledo*. Can. 8. and the Bishop that connives at his Clergy so doing, is order'd to be excommunicated two Months; a Presbyter so offending is to be excommunicated four Months; a Deacon three; and those of the inferiour Orders at discretion. And there are several other antient Canons to the same purpose in the Councils of *Eliberis* and *Braga*, and the Decrees of *Gelasius*.

All Purchases made of the spiritual Preferments of the Church, and all Promotions made without just Merit, were also called Simony. The Council of *Chalcedon* threatens Deposition not only to any Bishop that ordains for Money, but also if he promotes an *Oeconomus* or Steward, an *Ecdicus*, that is, an Advocate or Defensor, or a *Paramonarius*, that is, a Bailiff or Steward of the Lands, for his own filthy Lucre. And both the Clergy so ordained are to be degraded, and the Officers so promoted, to lose their Places: And any one instrumental in such Traffick, if a Clerk, he is to be degraded; if a Layman or a Monk, to be anathematized. *Gregory the Great* makes it a kind of *Simony* also, when they gave Holy Orders for human Favour; but whether it was liable to Ecclesiastical Censure, he does not say. Hom. 2. in Evag.

The last sort of *Simony* was, when Men by undue Practices got themselves invested in any Office

Book XVI.



Can. 1, 2.

fice or Preferment to which they had no regular Call, or legal Title; or when they intruded themselves into other Mens Places which were legally filled before. This was the common Practice of schismatical Spirits, and all such Ordinations were usually vacated and declared null; both the Ordainers and the Ordained were prosecuted as Criminals by Degradation, and Reduction to the State and Communion of Laymen: But of this before. Only note, That it was equally *simoniacal* for any Bishop to thrust himself irregularly into any vacant See, or to remove himself by any sinister Arts from a lesser See to a greater, in contempt of the Rules of the Church. And the Laws were very severe against such Removals, as has been observed. The Council of *Sardica* has two very remarkable Canons upon this account, which run in these Words: ‘ That  
 ‘ evil Custom and pernicious Corruption is by all  
 ‘ means to be rooted out, that no Bishop have  
 ‘ liberty to remove himself from a lesser City to  
 ‘ another. For the reason why he does this is  
 ‘ plain; seeing we never find a Bishop labouring  
 ‘ to remove himself from a greater City to a less.  
 ‘ Whence it is manifest that all such are inflamed  
 ‘ with Ardour of Covetousness, and rather serve  
 ‘ their Ambition and Vain-Glory, that they may  
 ‘ seem to be vested with greater Authority and  
 ‘ Power. Wherefore this sinister Practice ought  
 ‘ to be punished more severely.’ And, in my  
 opinion, says *Hosius* the President of the Council, such ought not to be allowed so much as Lay-Communion. The next Canon adds, ‘ That if  
 ‘ any one be so vain or presumptuous as to think  
 ‘ to excuse himself in this Matter, by saying, that  
 ‘ he receiv’d Letters of Invitation from the People;  
 ‘ seeing it is possible some might be corrupted by  
 ‘ Bribes and Rewards to raise a Faction in the  
 ‘ Church, and desire to have him for their Bishop:’ I think, says *Hosius* again, these fraudulent Arts and underhand Practices ought to be undoubtedly punished, so as that such a one should not be allow’d even Lay-Communion at his last Hour. And to this the  
 Council

Council readily agreed. And it is worth remarking farther, That whereas it might happen that such an ambitious Bishop might, by the Power of a Faction, be able to maintain himself in his Usurpation, in spite of all ecclesiastical Censures: Therefore in this Case the third Council of *Carthage* order'd, That Recourse should be had to the Secular Magistrate against such a Bishop; and the Ruler of the Province should be entreated to use his judicial Authority to expel him out of the Church.

Can. 38.



## C H A P. VII.

*Of Sins against the Third Commandment,  
Blasphemy, profane Swearing, Perjury, and  
Breach of Vows.*



THE greater Sins against the Third Commandment, which chiefly brought Men under publick ecclesiastical Censure, were Blasphemy, profane Swearing, Perjury, and Breach of Vows made to God. Blasphemy they distinguished into three sorts:

1. The Blasphemy of Apostates and Lapsed, whom the Heathen Persecutors obliged not only to deny, but to curse Christ. And that this was the common way of renouncing their Religion, we have from *Pliny*, and the Proconsul's Demand to *Polycarp*, and *Polycarp's* Answer to it: He bid him revile Christ, *Λοιδοῦναι τὸν Χριστὸν*: to whom *Polycarp* replied, These eighty six Years I have served him, and he never did me any harm; how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour? So they bid *Metras* the Martyr say the Atheistical Words; which when he refused to do, they stoned him to Death. And so *Justin Martyr* says, *Bar-*

L. 10. Ep. 97.  
Euseb. L. 4. c. 15.

Ibid. l. 6. c. 41.

Apol. 2.

chobab,



Book XVI. *chobab*, the Leader of the Jewish Rebellion under *Adrian*, obliged the Christians to do. So that this being only a more solemn Way of renouncing Religion, by adding Blasphemy to Apostacy, all Lapsers of this kind were reckoned among Apostates, and accordingly punished with their Punishment to the highest degree of ecclesiastical Censure.

2. The Blasphemy of Hereticks and others who made Profession of the Christian Religion, yet by impious Doctrines or profane Discourses, blasphemed God, and affronted his Majesty. *Chrysostom* stiles those Blasphemers who introduc'd Fate in derogation to the Providence of God; and *Irenaus*, those who denied God to be the Creator of the World. The *Arians* likewise and *Nestorians* are generally charged with this Crime, for denying the Divinity of our Saviour, and the Incarnation of the Divine Nature. So that the same Punishment as was inflicted upon Hereticks, was consequently the Lot of this sort of Blasphemers. *St. Chrysostom* joins Blasphemers and Fornicators together, as Persons that were to be expelled from the Lord's Table; nay, he intimates that all the Punishments of this World and the next, are not sufficient to chastize a Soul that is arrived to this prodigious height of Wickedness: For he says there is no Sin greater than this, none equal to it. It is an Addition to all other Crimes, confounding all Religion, and drawing inexpiable Punishment after it. Neither was it only this doctrinal Blasphemy of Hereticks they were so severe against, but all other Blasphemies of profane Christians. This we learn from *Symeon*'s way of proceeding against *Andronicus* the oppressing Governour of *Prolemais*, mention'd before. But the *Civil Laws* also set a particular Mark upon this Crime. By the Laws of *Justinian* Blasphemy is reckoned a capital Offence, to be punished with Death. And by the former Laws, since Heresy was reputed Blasphemy against God, all the Penalties of Hereticks (one of which was in some Cases Death also) must be supposed to be

Hom. 2. de Far.

Præf. in lib. 4.

Hom. 22. de Ira.

Novel 77.

be Punishments awarded by Law to this sort of Blasphemers.

3. Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost was another kind of Blasphemy; concerning which there are different Opinions, which require to be more particularly accounted for. *Cyprian*, *St. Hilary*, *Athanasius*, and the Author of the Questions to *Antiochus* under his Name, apply it to the great Sin of lapsing into Idolatry, and Apostacy and denying Christ in time of Persecution: And therefore *Hilary* charges the *Arians* and all other such Hereticks with this Blasphemy, because their Doctrine robbed Christ of his Divinity, and denied him to be of the same Substance with the Father, tho they venerated him as God, and ascribed the Name of God to him upon account of his Works. But *Athanasius* is somewhat more severe against them: His Words run thus; 'The *Pharisees* in our Saviour's time, and the *Arians* in our days, running into the same Madness [meaning the Sin against the Holy Ghost] denied the real Word to be incarnate, and ascribed the Works of the Godhead to the Devil and his Angels, and therefore justly undergo the Punishment which is due to this Impiety without Remission. For they put the Devil in the Place of God, and imagined the Works of the living and true God to be nothing more than the Works of the Devils. Which was the same thing as if they had said that the World was made by *Beelzebub*, that the Sun arose at his Command, and the Stars in Heaven moved by his Direction: For as the one were the Works of God, so were the other; and if the one were done by *Beelzebub*, so were the other also. For this reason Christ declared their Sin unpardonable, and their Punishment inevitable and eternal.' *St. Ambrose* also defines this Sin to be denying the Divinity of Christ, and says that it deserves no Pardon.

In Mat. Can. 31.

Athan. in illud,  
Quicumque dixerit Verbum.

Com. in Luc. I.  
7. c. 12.

Hier. 74. n. 14.

nian

Some again make it consist in denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghost; and upon that account *Epiphanius* charges the *Pneumatomachi* or *Macedonian*

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*nian* Hereticks with it. The Error of these Hereticks consisted particularly in opposing the God-head of the Holy Ghost, and making him a mere Creature; which in the Sense of that Father was not pardoned in this World, because condemned by the Church in the Council of *Nice*, and censured with *Anathema* to the Favourers of it. But then he was not so very severe with respect to the World to come: For as he allows they might be admitted to Communion again upon their Repentance, so we must suppose he means, their Sin was capable of Pardon in the next World on the same Condition. St. *Ambrose* and *Philastrius* bring the same Charge against them, and upon the same account. But then the two last mentioned Writers bring the Charge in general against all Hereticks, as Blasphemers of the Holy Ghost; tho they do not say it is unpardonable absolutely, but only to the contumacious.

Amb. de Spir.  
Sanc. l. 1. c. 3.  
Phil. de Hær.  
c. 20.

Quæst. 102.

Expos. in Rom.

Chrys. Hom. 42.  
in Mat.  
Viâ. Com. in  
Marc. 3.

Others place this Sin in a perverse malicious ascribing the Works of the Holy Ghost to the Power of the Devil. And some of these suppose the Malignity of it to consist in doing this against Knowledge, and manifest Convictions of Conscience; which renders them self-condemned, and their Sin simply and absolutely unpardonable. The Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament under the Name of St. *Austin* is of this Opinion, and objects this Sin to the *Jews*, upon this account making it unpardonable. But then this Author is singular in two things: 1. In saying the *Jews* acted against Knowledge: For St. *Austin* says, *They did it in Ignorance*; and St. *Peter* seems to say the same, *Acts* 3. 17. *I wot, Brethren, that in Ignorance ye did, as did also your Rulers.* 2. In making their Sin simply and absolutely unpardonable, which the Antients generally do not, but only upon Impenitence. This is evident from St. *Chrysostom* and *Victor* of *Antioch*, who give the same Account of the Unpardonableness of this Sin.

From what has been said it is easy to conceive what the Discipline of the Church was to such

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Blasphemers. For 1. If all Apostates, Idolaters, and such as denied Christ, or blasphemed his Divinity, or the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and such as fell into Heresy and Schism, were reputed in some measure to blaspheme the Holy Ghost; then the same Punishment inflicted on all such Offenders, must consequently be reckoned the Punishment of these Blasphemers. 2. The Antients, as many at least as went upon that Supposition, could not imagine it to be a Sin simply and absolutely incapable of Pardon; because they did not shut the Door of Repentance to any such Offenders: Which argues that they did not believe the Sin against the Holy Ghost to be altogether unpardonable, but only to the Impenitent. And tho St. *Austin* and several others in the *Latin Church* seem to say, that this Sin is unpardonable both in this World and the next; yet if we rightly take their Meaning, they do not differ in Opinion from the former. For they suppose that no Man perfectly commits the Sin against the Holy Ghost, but he finally dies obdurate, and in resistance to all the gracious Motions and Operations of the Holy Spirit to the end of his days: In which case it is but natural to conclude from the Nature of the thing, that such Men can have no Pardon for their Sin, neither in this World nor that to come: Not because any thing they do in their Life-time makes it an unpardonable Sin in itself, but because they continue impenitent to the last.

In this Sense *Fulgentius* understands our Saviour's Words, as menacing Punishment to the Obdurate: And so the Author of the Book of true and false Repentance, under the Name of St. *Austin*; and *Bartharius*, an *African Writer* about the Time of St. *Austin*, explains himself after the same manner.

St. *Austin* speaks often of this Crime, and this was his constant and invariable Sense of it; tho out of it the Schoolmen have raised six several Species of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, viz. Despair, Presumption, final Impenitency, Obstinacy in Sin, impugning the Truth which a Man



Book XVI. knows, and envious Malice against the Grace of the Brethren ; when nothing can be plainer than that St. *Austin* resolves the whole Matter into Obstinacy, in opposing the Methods of divine Grace, and continuing in this Obduration finally without Repentance. Other Sins may lead the Way to this Blasphemy, in Word or Action : But all this is only *inchoative* Blasphemy, which does not render it absolutely unpardonable ; which to die finally impenitent does.

Hence the same Punishment that was laid upon Idolatry, Apostacy, denying the Divinity of Christ, or the Holy Spirit, upon Lapsers into great Immorality or other Blasphemy after Baptism, was laid upon this Sin of blaspheming the *Holy Ghost* ; because it usually began in some of these, of which if Men truly repented, the Door of Mercy was still open, and the Church would receive them. But if they died in their Impenitency, this was properly the *Sin unto Death*. They died excommunicate, and so had neither the Solemnity of a Christian Burial, nor the Suffrages of the Church after Death, being struck out of her *Dptychs*, and no Memorial ever after made of them, as of Persons desperate, and entirely out of God's Favour.

The next Transgression of the Third Commandment punished with Ecclesiastical Censure, was profane Swearing. By which they did not mean all Oaths in general, nor yet any single Act of rash and hasty Swearing (unless attended with some other aggravating Crime) but only the Habit and Custom of profane Swearing.

*Chrysostom* indeed, and some others, have carried the Matter so far as to deny the Lawfulness of all Oaths to Christians in any Case whatsoever. But yet it is certain, that there never was any publick Rule of the Church to forbid this ; the Generality of Christians always esteeming the taking of an Oath, in necessary Cases, to be a lawful thing, as appears both from the Laws themselves, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, and from general Practice. One of *Constantine's* Laws is confirmed

firm'd with a solemn Oath, in the very Body of it. And nothing was more usual than the taking of Oaths for the Confirmation of Contracts, as is evident from that famous Law of *Arcadius*, Ibid. l. 2. tit. 9. leg. 8. which inflicts severe Penalties upon all that violate their Contracts, made in the Name, and confirm'd by the Authority of Almighty God; and also on such as broke their Contracts, which they confirm'd by an Oath taken in that peculiar Form of Swearing, *By the Emperor's Safety*: Which was an usual Form of an Oath among Christians as ancient as *Tertullian*; and is mentioned by *Athanasius* and *Sozomen*, as usual in their times. In the Collation of *Carthage*, *Marcellinus*, the Emperor's Commissioner to hear the Dispute between the *Catholicks* and *Donatists*, at the Entrance of the Dispute, promised both sides upon Oath, by the adorable Myſtery of the Trinity, and the Sacrament or Myſtery of the Divine Incarnation, and the Safety of the Emperors, that he would judge truly according to the Allegations of the Parties. And the ſame Form was obſerved in the military Oath taken by the Soldiers when they enter'd upon the Muſter-Roll, as we learn from *Vegetius*, De Re Mil. l. 1. c. 5. in the time of *Valentinian* the Younger. And in many other Caſes the Law required an Oath. *Conſtantine* required every Witneſs to take an Oath before he gave Teſtimony in any Cauſe. Cod. Theod. l. 11. tit. 39. leg. 3. *Juſtinian* not only confirm'd this in his *Code*, but added ſeveral other Caſes in which not only Witneſſes, but the Plaintiff, Defendant, and Advocates were to take their ſeveral Oaths upon the Gospels. Juſt. Cod. l. 4. tit. 20. leg. 9. And this was call'd *Juramentum de Calumnia*, the Oath of Calumny, where the Plaintiff was particularly oblig'd, before he could proſecute his Action, to ſwear that he did not bring his Action with any Deſign to calumniate his Adverſary, but becauſe he thought he had a juſt Cauſe: And the Defendant was to take a like Oath before he could give in his Answer. Another Law alſo oblig'd them to ſwear, That they had neither given, Juſt. Novel. 124. c. 1. nor promiſed to give any Bribe to the Judges, or any other Perſon. And the like Laws were made to

Book XVI. prevent Simony in Elections to Ecclesiastical Pre-  
 Chap. 6. — ferments, as has been observed before. So that  
 the Injunction of taking necessary Oaths did not  
 bind only in Secular and Civil Affairs, but in Ec-  
 clestiaſtical and Sacred likewise. And here, not  
 to mention private Writers; it is to be observed,  
 that Oaths have been required by both General  
 and Provincial Councils in many Cases; of which  
 there are Instances in the fourth, fifth and eighth  
 Councils of *Toledo*, and in the sixth General Coun-  
 cil of *Constantinople*.

However, profane Swearing was a Crime, and  
 the Custom of it made a Man liable to Excommu-  
 nication; tho every rash vain Oath did not, as  
*Tertullian* and *St. Chrysostom* (who is most vehe-  
 ment and severe against this Vice) do plainly  
 allow.

Another Transgression of this Command was  
 swearing by the Creatures. A Clergyman guilty  
 of this Crime, and persisting in it, was to be ex-  
 communicated, by the fourth Council of *Carthage*:

Can. 61.

Ap. Grat. Cause

22. Quæst. 1.

c. 19.

And a Decree of Pope *Pius I.* forbids Men to swear  
 by the Hair or Head of God, or any such blas-  
 phemous Oaths, and also by the Creature, under  
 the same Penalty. But because this may seem to  
 contradict what they said before, That a Man  
 might lawfully swear by the *Emperor's Safety*;  
 we are to consider, That in such Oaths they did  
 not properly swear by the Creature, invoking  
 them as Witnesses of the Truth of what they  
 said, but only naming them with some relation  
 to God, by whom they swore: Which, as learned  
 Men observe, may lawfully be done two ways:  
 1. In execratory Oaths, when a Man devotes any  
 Creature, in which he himself has some Right  
 and Property, and as it were oppignorates it to  
 the severe Vengeance of God the Judge, if he  
 swear falsely. 2. The other Way of mentioning  
 the Creatures in an Oath, without swearing by  
 them, is, when by a Testification of the Civil Re-  
 spect and Affection they have for them, they like-  
 wise signify in the Presence of God, the Truth  
 of what they say to Men; That it is certainly  
 true,

true, as they certainly wish the Wealth and Prosperity of such a Creature or Person.

But the Case was otherwise when Men swore directly by any Creatures, as Judges and Reverengers of their Thoughts, if they were false and perfidious in their Deposition. Therefore tho the Christians admitted the naming of the *Emperor's Safety* in their Oaths, they would never swear by the *Emperor's Genius*, because this was Idolatry. The Persecutors required no more but this as a Testimony of their Renunciation; as appears from the Passion of *Polycarp* recorded by *Eusebius*, L. 5. c. 15. and the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* in *Africk*, in *Baronius*. *Origen* also, *Minutius* and *Tertullian* Baron. an. 202. p. 2. make mention of this Form, and the Christians Refusal of it. Whatever Penalties therefore were imposed on Idolaters and Apostates, the same we may conclude to have been the Punishment of this kind of Swearers.

To swear by good Angels, or Saints, or the Virgin *Mary*, or their Images and Relicks, was esteemed not much short of the former Vice. *Optatus* charges it as a great Piece of Impiety in L. 3. the *Donatists*, that they were used to swear by *Donatus*, and upon him that he permitted it. He says further, that they were used to swear by their pretended Martyrs, tho they were Men who suffered for their Crimes, and not for the Cause of Religion. By which it is evident, that in the time of *Optatus*, to swear by the Name of a Man, whether living or dead, was reckon'd no less a Crime than Sacrilege and Impiety; and consequently that the same Punishment was awarded to it: tho we read of few besides these Hereticks in those Days that were disposed to run into it, till the Worship of Angels, &c. crept into the Church; and then the Virgin *Mary*, &c. were joined in the same Oath with God. The first Instance of which in this kind, we have in one of *Justinian's Novels*; and because it was the first Novel 9. allowed in the Church, it may not be amiss to transcribe the Form: ' I do swear by God Almighty, and his only-begotten Son our Lord  
A a 3 ' Jesus



Book XVI.



‘ Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and the most  
 ‘ holy glorious Mother of God, and ever Virgin  
 ‘ *Mary*, and by the four Gospels which I hold in  
 ‘ my Hand, and by the holy Archangels *Michael*  
 ‘ and *Gabriel*, That I will keep a pure Conscience,  
 ‘ and pay faithful and true Allegiance to their  
 ‘ most sacred Majesties *Justinian*, and *Theodora* his  
 ‘ Consort, who put me into this Office. And I  
 ‘ swear by the same Oath, that I neither gave,  
 ‘ nor will give, nor promised to give any thing to  
 ‘ any one whatsoever for his Patronage or Assis-  
 ‘ tance in procuring me this Administration; but  
 ‘ as I received it without Bribery, so I will exe-  
 ‘ cute it with Purity, being content with the pub-  
 ‘ lick Salary that is appointed me.’ This may  
 serve to shew in how short a time Corruptions  
 may gain ground by Authority. For that which  
 was accounted Sacrilege and Impiety in the Time  
 of *Optatus*, was now become an Instance of sin-  
 gular Devotion to the Archangels and the Virgin  
*Mary*.

The next great Crime against the Name of  
 God was Perjury, which might be committed  
 either at the time of taking the Oath, by swearing  
 to a false thing, or to do some unlawful thing; or  
 else afterward, by the Non-performance of what  
 he had sworn to do. He that swore to do an  
 unlawful thing, was to be cast out of Communion  
 a whole Year for his Perjury, and obliged to repent  
 of it; by a Canon of the Council of *Lerida*. For  
 in this Case the Fathers and Canons determine the  
 unlawful Oath was not to be kept. And in this  
 Case the Penance was the shorter, because Men  
 were supposed to have fallen into this Guilt thro  
 some hasty Passion, and not by any settled Consi-  
 deration.

But in other Cases, Perjury in attesting a false  
 thing, or not performing a lawful Oath, was  
 more severely treated. For *Chrysostom* puts Per-  
 jury in the same Class with Murder. *St. Basil*  
 lays a Penance of eleven Years upon it. The first  
 Council of *Mascon* orders those who drew others  
 in to false Witness or Perjury, to be excommuni-  
 cated

Can. 7.

Vid. Conc. Tol.

8. can. 2.

Hom. 17. in Mat.

Can. 64.

Can. 17.

cated to the Hour of Death, and those who were so drawn in, to be for ever incapable of giving Testimony, and infamous according to the Laws: meaning probably the Laws of the State, as well as the Laws of the Church, which also set a Brand of Infamy upon all such perjured Persons.

The last Transgression of this Commandment, which was punished by the Laws of the Church, was Breach of Vows made to God. Every such Breach was a Piece of Sacrilege, as well as Perfidiousness and Perjury, and punished accordingly. If a Man vowed his Estate, or Part of it, to God, he could not retract it without Sacrilege: Or if he vowed to dedicate himself to the Ministry, he could not retract it. The Clergy were supposed to be God's Inheritance in a strict sense, dedicating themselves by a voluntary Act; and therefore none of this Order were allowed to desert their Station, under the Penalty of Excommunication: As appears from the General Council of Chalcedon, and the Council of Tours. The same Penalties were inflicted on Monks, and consecrated Virgins and Widows returning to a secular Life. If they married, their Marriages were not annulled nor esteemed adulterous, but they were to be excommunicated, by the aforesaid Council of Chalcedon. And St. Basil says they were to do the Penance of Fornicators and Adulterers; not that he reckoned their Marriage Fornication or Adultery, but only to assign the time of their Penance.

Can. 7.

Can. 5.

Can. 60.



## C H A P. VIII.

Of Sins against the Fourth Commandment,  
or Violations of the Law enjoining the  
religious Observation of the Lord's Day.

I T being a Rule, that Men should meet together, to celebrate all divine Offices in publick on the *Lord's Day*; the voluntary absenting from this Service, in whole, or in part, was ever reputed a Crime worthy of Ecclesiastical Censure. Total Absence was punished with the Censure of an *Anathema*, by the Council of *Gangra*: And Absence for any considerable time was to be corrected by a judicial Suspension from the Communion; as may be seen in the Canons of *Eliberis*, *Sardica* and *Trullo*.

Can. 5, 6, 7.

To frequent some part of Divine Service on the *Lord's Day*, and neglect or withdraw from the rest, was a Crime punishable with Excommunication; according to the *Apostolical Canons*, and a Decree of the Council of *Antioch*: And the Council of *Eliberis* forbids the Bishop to receive the Oblations of such as did not communicate.

Can. 7.  
Can. 2.

To fast on the *Lord's Day*, even in the time of *Lent*, was another Crime always reputed deserving Ecclesiastical Censure; according to *Tertullian*: And he remarks that the *Montanists* themselves excepted the *Sabbath* or *Saturday* and *Lord's Day* from their Laws of Fasting. *St. Ambrose* likewise tells us that the *Catholics* were used to except those two Days in their *Lent* Fasts, and thought they had reason to condemn the *Manichees* for fasting on the *Lord's Day*, because it was in effect to disbelieve the Resurrection of *Christ*. The Council

De Cor. Mil. c. 3.

De Elia c. 10.

Council of *Braga* did condemn the *Manichees*, with the *Cerdonians*, *Marcionites* and *Priscillianists*, for fasting upon this Day, and the Day of *Christ's* Nativity; because they did it in Derogation to the Truth of *Christ's* human Nature. The 4th Council of *Carthage* censures them as no *Catholics*, who chuse to fast on that Day, and *St. Austin* is of the same Opinion. Upon these Reasons the Canons are severe upon such Transgressors. The Council of *Gangra* subjects them to an *Anathema*: The *Apostolical Canons*, to Deposition, if Clergymen; to be cast out of Communion, if Laymen: And the same is repeated by the Council of *Trullo*, and others.

Can. 4.

Can. 64.

Can. 12.

Can. 64.

Can. 55.

To follow Sports and Pastimes on the *Lord's Day*, was thought a Crime worthy to be corrected by the severest Censures of the Church. The *Imperial Laws* forbad all publick Games and Shews on this Day, and the other great Festivals, the *Nativity*, *Epiphany*, *Easter* and *Pentecost*. But no Penalties being annexed to them, the Church thought fit to punish it her self. *St. Chrysostom* calls those Shews *Σατανικά Συναγίσματα*, the Conventions of *Satan*: and the 4th Council of *Carthage* punishes the Transgressors with Excommunication.

Cod. Theod. l.  
15. tit. 5. Leg. 2.

Hom. 6. in Gen.







C H A P. IX.

*Of the great Transgressions against the Fifth Commandment; Disobedience to Parents, and Masters; Treason and Rebellion against Princes; and Contempt of the Laws of the Church.*



U N D E R the Name of Parents are comprehended not only the Natural, but the Political or Civil, Spiritual and Oeconomical Parents: All Magistrates and Rulers, Governors of the Church, and Masters of Families, as well as Fathers and Mothers; whose Authority being respectively very great, it was thought proper to secure it, as by the Laws of the State, so by those of the Church.

Cod. Just. l. 8.  
tit. 47. leg. 10.

Reg. Maj. q. 15.

Can. 16.

By the old *Roman* Law Parents had the Power of Life and Death over their Children, and might sell them for Slaves, in Cases of extreme Necessity, for their own maintenance: And tho the Laws of Christian Emperors restrain'd that Power, yet they still left a considerable Power in the hands of Parents to dispose of their Children whilst they were Minors, only excepting the Cases of Slavery and Death. Thus by the Rule of *St. Basil*, Children might not be received into Monasteries unless they were offered by their Parents, if alive: and the Council of *Gangra* pronounces *Anathema* to such Children as forsake their Parents upon that or any other like Pretence; that being the Doctrine of the *Eustathian* Heretics.

Another Branch of Paternal Power was the Right of Parents to dispose of their Children in Mar-

Marriage. This Power was carefully guarded by the *Imperial Law*: Witness that famous Law of *Constantine* in the *Theodosian Code*, which is worthy Observation, and runs in these Terms: L. 9. tit. 24. leg. 1.

' If any one, without first obtaining the Consent  
' of Parents, steal a Virgin against her Will, or  
' carry her off by her own Consent, hoping that  
' her Consent will protect him; he shall have  
' no benefit from such Consent, as the antient  
' Laws have determined; but the Virgin her self  
' shall be held guilty, as partaker in the Crime.  
' If any Nurse be instrumental or accessory to  
' the Fact by her Persuasions, which often defeat  
' the Parents Care, her detestable Service shall be  
' revenged, by pouring melted Lead into her  
' Mouth, that ministr'd to such wicked Coun-  
' sels. If the Virgin be detected to have given  
' her Consent, she shall be punished with the  
' same severity as the Raptor himself: seeing  
' she that is stol'n away against her Will, is not  
' suffered to go unpunished, because she might  
' have kept her self at home; or if she was taken  
' by Violence out of her Father's House, she  
' should have cried out for help to the Neighbour-  
' hood, and used all means possible to defend her  
' self. But on such we impose only a lighter Pu-  
' nishment, denying them the right to succeed to  
' their Fathers Inheritance. But the Raptor him-  
' self, being clearly convicted, shall have no bene-  
' fit of Appeal. If Parents, who are chiefly con-  
' cerned to prosecute this Crime, connive at it,  
' they shall be banished. All who are Partners,  
' or Assistants to the Raptor, shall be liable to the  
' same Punishment without distinction of Sex.  
' And if any such be Slaves, they shall be burnt  
' alive.' This Law of *Constantine's* was a little  
altered by his Son *Constans*, by moderating the  
Punishment to a common Death, whereas the  
Criminals, before, were to be burnt alive: only  
the Slaves were still to suffer that Punishment.

But by another Law of *Valentinian* and *Gratian*, Cod. Theod. 1. 3. tit. 7. leg. 1.  
Widows are not allowed to marry a second time  
without

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Can. 22.

without the consent of Parents, if they were under 25 Years, tho they were *sui juris*, and enjoyed the Liberty of Emancipation. And there are many Laws in both the *Codes* to the same purpose. The *Ecclesiastical Laws* concur with the *Civil Law* in this. That Mothers as well as Fathers have this Right in their Children, to dispose of them in Marriage, unless they be of Age to dispose of themselves, appears from all antient Writers who have treated on that Subject; and St. *Basil's* Rules ordain all Raptors four Years Penance, as Fornicators; and when the Virgins were restored to their Guardians, it was in their Discretion whether they would give them to the Raptors, or not. And if Virgins married without Consent of Parents, they were to be treated as Harlots: Nay, tho their Parents were afterward reconciled, yet they were to do three Years Penance for their first Transgression. And the Case was much the same with Slaves marrying without the Consent of their Masters, according to the same Canons.

Ad Scap. c. 2.

Can. 67.

Can. 44.

Another sort of Parents were the *Patres Patrie*, the Political Parents, Kings and Emperors, whose Majesty was sacred; and therefore all Disloyalty and Disrespect to them, either in Word or Deed, was severely punished by the Church. It was the Christians Glory, That for the first three hundred Years, tho the Emperors were Heathens, and some of them furious Persecutors, yet there were never any seditious or disloyal Persons to be found among them, as *Tertullian* observes. For this Reason during that time there was no need of Ecclesiastical Punishments for such Crimes among Christians. But when the whole World was become Christian, there was occasion (Oh pity!) for such Laws against Sedition and Treason; and then several were made to prevent or correct it. The fourth Council of *Carthage* forbids the Ordination of any seditious Person. The fourth Council of *Toledo* orders seditious Clergymen to be deposed, confined to a Monastery,

tery, and to do Penance there all their Lives. The fifth Council of *Toledo* pronounces an *Anathema* to such as violated any Part of their Oath of Allegiance to the Kings of *Spain*; excommunicating and anathematizing all that should pretend to usurp the Throne without the Consent of the Nobility, and the whole Catholick Nation; all that should make any curious Enquiries about the fatal Period of the Life of the Prince; all that should speak Evil of him: Finally, they made an Order, That in every Council held in *Spain* this Decree should be read. And accordingly we find the same Decree repeated and confirmed in several other Councils of that Nation.

The last sort of Parents were the Spiritual; and the Contempt of these also was punished with Ecclesiastical Censure. Only to instance two or three Particulars out of many: The Council of *Antioch* excommunicates all who pertinaciously oppose the Rule made about *Easter* in the Council of *Nice*. The first Council of *Carthage* more generally censures all Opposers of Ecclesiastical Orders; excommunicating Laymen, and depriving Clergymen of their Order. And there are many other Laws of the Church to the same purpose.

Can. 1.

Can. 14.







CHAP X.

Of great Transgressions against the Sixth Commandment, Murder, Manslaughter, Parricide, Self-Murder, dismembring the Body, causing Abortion, &c.

**M**URDER, as it was one of the *Atracia Delicta*, was alwas excepted in the general Pardons; and whereas other Criminals were allow'd the Benefit of appealing, this was wholly denied to Murderers: Neither might any such fly to the Church for Sanctuary. By the most antient Laws of some Churches, Murderers have been subjected to Penance all their Lives, and denied Communion, even at the Hour of Death: This appears from *Tertullian*. But afterward the Term of their Penance was a little moderated, and they were allowed to be received at the Hour of Death, by the Council of *Ancyra*. Other Canons reduce their Penance to a certain Term of Years: *St. Basil's* particularly to twenty. Yet in some Cases the Discipline was still more severe, when there were other Aggravations to inflame it. Adultery joined with Murder was punished with Excommunication even to Death, by the Council of *Eliberis*; as also Pharmacy or Magical Art used to kill another, by the same Council. A Woman conceiving a Child in the Absence of her Husband, and killing it, was to be rejected to the last, by another Canon of that Council; but the Council of *Ancyra* was more favourable to simple Fornication joined with Murder. For by that, if a Woman committed Fornication, and murder'd her Infant, or caused Abortion, it was only ten Years Penance. Common Murder was seven

De Pud. c. 12.

Can. 22.

Can. 56.

Can. 2.

Can. 5.

Can. 63.

Can. 21.

seven Years Penance, by the Council of *Lerida*; Chap. 10.  
but Murder by Sorcery, for the whole Life.

The causing of Abortion being esteemed a Species of Murder, it was punished accordingly. St. *Basil's* Canons order ten Years Penance, whether the Embryo were perfectly formed or not. The Council of *Trullo* orders the Penance of Murderers; and the Council of *Lerida* seven Years. And the private Writers among the Antients with one Consent declare it to be Murder.

Indeed this Murder was one Species of Parricide, which included not only the Murder of Parents, but of Children and other Relations, to whom Men were bound by natural Affection. And this had a noted Punishment among the old *Romans*, but *Constantine* reduced it; and from his Law we may take the Description of it: 'If any one hasten the Fate of his Parent, or Son, or any the like Relation, which goes under the Name of Parricide, whether he attempt it privately or publickly, he shall not be punished with the Sword, or with Fire, or with any other common Death, but be sowed up in a Sack with Serpents and other Beasts, and be cast into the Sea or a River, as the Nature of the Place will admit; that he may be deprived of the Use of all the Elements, as long as he remains in Being; that he may have neither Air to breathe in whilst he lives, nor Earth to receive him when he is dead.' This was the Punishment for the Murder of a Father, &c. or Relation in a direct Line: But if it was any other Relation, then the common Death of Murderers was inflicted, as we learn from *Justinian*. But the Church having no Power of the Sword, could make no such Distinction; but punished both sorts with Excommunication.

And so she treated the *Biathanati*, or Self-Murderers. And because no Penance could be imposed for this Crime, she denied the Criminals Christian Burial, and deprived them of all Memorial in her Prayers after Death; as appears from the first Council of *Braga*.

It

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Can. 23.

It was also reckoned a Species of this Crime, for a Man to disfigure his own Body, by cutting off any Member or Part thereof, without just Reason. The Canons forbid any such to be ordain'd, as has been shewn. And this Discipline extended also to Laymen; for the *Apostolical Canons* order that a Layman who dismembers himself, shall be debarred the Communion for three Years.

Can. 5.

Can. 34.

Can. 66.

But besides voluntary Murder, there was another Kind which was accidental and involuntary; and tho the *Civil Law* took little or no notice of this, yet the Church did, and sometimes ordered a proportionable Punishment. Thus, if a Slave chanced to die of Correction, tho it was only casual, and not intended, the Council of *Eliberis* order'd five Years Penance; and the Council of *Epone*, Excommunication for two Years. And among the *Apostolical Canons* there is one that orders, If any Clergyman in a Brawl or Scuffle smite another so as to kill him, tho it were by the first Blow, he shall be deposed; if a Layman, he shall be cast out of Communion.

Conc. Arelat. 1.

can. 13.

Conc. Elib. c. 73.

Besides actual Murder, the Antients censured all Actions that had a Tendency towards it; as bearing false Witness against a Man's Life. This was punished by Retaliation in the *Civil Law*: And because the *Ecclesiastical Law* could not inflict that for false Witness against a Man's Life; yet all false Testimony being subject to Excommunication, and that being of the highest Aggravation, we may be sure they punished it with all the Penalties due to those Crimes in any degree whatsoever. *Vid. Conc. Elib. can. 74.* Yea, a bare Information or Discovery of the Names of the Brethren to the Heathen Magistrates, was censured as Murder by the Councils of *Arles* and *Eliberis*: The last of which forbids such Informers, if the Person they informed against was either proscribed or slain upon their Information, to be received into Communion at the last, or not till his last Hour, as different Copies read it.

Another sort of interpretative Murder, was the exposing of Infants. *Athenagoras* says expressly, All

All such are Parricides, or Murderers of their Children : And *Lactantius* is no less severe upon them. And in this Case also the *Ecclesiastical Laws* were very strict, inflicting Excommunication on all Parents, who thus proved themselves guilty of murdering their Children. For so the Canons expressly word it : ‘ A Clamour, says the Council of *Vaison*, is made on all sides, and Complaint is brought before us concerning exposed Children, that they are now no longer exposed to the Mercy of Christians, but to be devoured by Dogs, because every one refuses to take them up, for fear of Prosecution from false Accusers : We therefore decree, that according to the Laws of pious Emperors and Princes, whoever takes up an exposed Child, shall make Testimony thereof unto the Church, and the Minister on the Lord’s Day shall publish it at the Altar, that if any one owns it within ten Days, he may receive it again ; giving a Recompence to the Finder for his charitable Care for that Term, or letting him keep it forever as his own Possession.’ But the next Canon adds, ‘ That if any one, after this legal Form of Proceeding has been observed in this Case, pretend to claim the exposed Infant, or accuse the Finder as a Plagiary or Man-stealer, he himself shall be punished as a Murderer by the Censures of the Church.’ All which manifestly proves, That in the Account of Conscience, and the antient Discipline, the Parent who deserts his Infant, and leaves it defenceless to the Injuries of Fortune, or Want, or the Weather, or wild Beasts, is a real Murderer ; as doing that in consequence of which Murder necessarily ensues, unless some favourable Providence interposes to prevent it.

For the same Reason all Accessories to Murder are to do the same Penance as Murderers themselves, by the Laws of the Church. The Council of *Ancyra* puts a special Case——A Man that is espoused to a Woman, deflours her Sister, and afterward marries the other ; she that is defiled, hangs herself for Grief : the Man, as Accessary

Chap. 10.

L. 6. c. 20.

Can. 9.

Can. 26.



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De Idol. c. 11.

L. 8. c. 30.

Can. 95.

See Chap. 4.

Can. 93.

to the Murder, is order'd to do ten Years Penance for his Crime, before he is allowed to appear among the Co-standers at the Communion. The *Lanista* or Masters of Fencing, also, were accounted guilty of shedding that Blood which they taught others to shed, as appears from *Tertullian*; and therefore the Church would never allow it as a lawful Profession. Gladiators are to be rejected from Baptism by the *Constitutions*: And *Constantine* prohibited the Art as unchristian.

But the Rules of the Church went yet farther: For they not only condemned the Murders of the Stage, but the Spectators as Accessories to them; which is evident from *Cyprian* and *Athenagoras*. The Charge of Murder was also brought against those who denied the Poor their necessary Maintenance, and defrauded their indigent Parents of their proper Livelihood, suffering them to perish for Want. The former of these are termed *Egentium necatores*, by the fourth Council of *Carthage*: And *Novatus* is censured by *Cyprian* as guilty of Parricide and Murder, for suffering his own Father to starve and perish by Famine.

But none were esteemed more guilty of Murder than they by whose Authority it was committed. Tho the Instruments were not acquitted, the Crime was chiefly laid to the charge of the principal Authors. Therefore St. *Ambrose* denied *Theodosius* the Communion of the Church, as the principal Author of the Slaughter of 7000 at *Thessalonica*. And the Case of the *Munerarii*, i. e. such Christian Magistrates as exhibited the *Munera*, or Games where Men murder'd one another upon the Stage, is a farther Evidence of this Power and Practice: For the Canons of the Church order all such Magistrates to be excommunicated, as contributing both by their Authority and Expences to Idolatry and Murder. And it must be added, That all open Enmity and Quarrelling, profest Hatred and Malice, were punished with Excommunication, as lower Degrees of Murder. Hence the fourth Council of *Carthage* made an Order, That the Oblation of such as were at open

open Enmity, should not be received in the Treas-  
 ury, or at the Altar : And the second of *Arles*  
 removes them from the Assemblies of the Church,  
 till they were reconciled. And hence also, they  
 that evil intreat their Servants or Slaves with  
 Stripes, Famine, or hard Bondage, are order'd to  
 be refused Communion by the Rules of the *Con-*  
*stitutions.* And *Chrysostom* often warns the Clergy  
 not to admit a cruel or unmerciful Man to the  
 Communion.

Chap. II.  
 Can. 13.

I. 4. c. 6.



CHAP. XI.

Of great Transgressions against the Seventh  
 Commandment, Fornication, Adultery,  
 Incest, &c.

**T**H E Transgressions against the Seventh  
 Commandment were all Sins of Unclean-  
 ness, among which simple Fornication  
 was always esteemed one, and severe Pe-  
 nalties were laid upon it. The *Apostolical Canons*,  
 and those of *Neocæsarea* forbid such as were guilty  
 of it, ever to be admitted into holy Orders, or to  
 be suspended, if unwittingly ordained. And to  
 Virgins who keep not their Virginity, a whole  
 Year's Exclusion from the Communion is appoint-  
 ed by the Council of *Eliberis*; and seven Years  
 Penance by the Canons of *St. Basil*.

Can. 53.  
 Can. 9.  
 Can. 14.  
 Can. 58, 59.

For Adultery, the same Canons prescribe fifteen  
 Years Penance, and sometimes thirty : The Coun-  
 cil of *Ancyra* seven, the Council of *Eliberis* five, for  
 a single Act, and ten for the Repetition of it. Be-  
 fore *St. Cyprian*, in some of the *African Church*, the  
 Peace of the Church was wholly refused to Adul-  
 terers ; but it was otherwise in his time, when a cer-  
 tain Term of Penance was appointed them. Yet in

Cyp. Ep. 55.

Book XVI. the Case of the Clergy, the Law was more severe :  
 For they were denied Communion to the very last,  
 by a Rule of the Council of *Eliberis*. And the  
*Civil Law* both under the Heathen and Christian  
 Emperors, made this Crime Capital, as *Gothofred*  
 shews both out of the *Code* and *Pandects*. And  
 it may not be amiss to observe out of one of the  
 Laws of *Theodosius*, That for a Christian, Man or  
 Woman, to marry a *Jew*, was reputed the same  
 thing as committing Adultery, and liable to the  
 same Punishment.

Can. 18.

In Cod. Th. l. 9.

tit. 36. leg. 4.

Cod. Th. ibid.

Another sort of Uncleaness was committed by  
 incestuous Marriages, that is, when Persons of  
 near Alliance, either by Consanguinity or Affini-  
 ty, made Marriages within the Degree prohibi-  
 ted by God in Scripture. If a Man married his  
 Father's Wife, his Wife's Daughter, his Brother's  
 Wife, or his Wife's Sister ; such Marriages were  
 prohibited by the Council of *Auxerre*. *St. Basil*  
 says, Incest with a Sister was to be punished as  
 Murder ; and all incestuous Conjunction as Adul-  
 tery. Incest with an Half-Sister was eleven Years  
 Penance, and with a Son's Wife the same. To  
 marry two Sisters successively, was 15 Years Pe-  
 nance by the same Canons. And about Cases of this  
 Nature the Antients were perfectly agreed ; al-  
 ways dissolving such Marriages as incestuous, and  
 obliging the Parties to do Penance for the Leudness.

Can. 27 — 30.

Can. 67.

But they are not so unanimous in the Question  
 about Cousin-Germans. Till the time of *St. Am-  
 brose* there was no Law against their marrying ;  
 but then *Theodosius* made one, and it is thought  
 by *St. Ambrose's* Advice. This Law is not extant  
 in any of the *Codes*, but there is Reference made  
 to it by many antient Writers. It is certain *St.  
 Ambrose* thought such Marriages incestuous : But  
*St. Austin* was of a different Judgment ; for tho  
 he does not encourage such Marriages, he does  
 not think there was any thing to hinder them in  
 the Law of God. *Athanasius* was of the same  
 opinion. And *Arcadius* revoked all former Laws  
 against such Marriages, and declared them legal.  
*Justinian* made this the standing Law of the Em-  
 pire,

De Civ. Dei, l.  
 15. c. 16.

Cod. Just. l. 5.  
 tit. 14. leg. 19.

Just. Inst. l. 1.  
 tit. 10.

pire, by inserting it into his *Code*, and declaring the same thing in his *Institutions*. However, the Council of *Epone* stiles such Marriages, Incest and Adultery; and the Council of *Tours* does the same, quoting the Canon of *Epone*, with another of *Arvern* or *Clermont* against them. *Gregory II.* made a like Decree in a Council at *Rome*, *Ann.* 721. and in the following Ages the Prohibition extended to the sixth or seventh Generation. The short of the Matter is this: Before *Theodosius* there was no Law against the Marriage of Cousin-Germans; in his time it was forbidden, but allowed in the next Reign, and under *Justinian*: But still the Canons continued the Prohibition, and extended it to a greater Degree. Yet as this was not the original Constitution, nor the Practice of the Church for some Ages, to bring such Marriages under Penitential Discipline, the Matter of the Unlawfulness of it is yet *sub judice*.

Chap. 11.

Can. 30.

Can. 22.

Can. 8.

The next Question may be about *Polygamy*, which denotes either having many Wives at once, or many successively one after another. As to *Polygamy*, or having many Wives at once, *St. Basil* observes, That the Fathers said little or nothing of it, as being a brutish Vice to which Mankind had no great Propensity. But he determines it to be a greater Sin than Fornication, and therefore deserving a longer Penance.

Can. 80.

But then there was another sort of *Polygamy*, which consisted in marrying a second Wife, after the unlawful Divorcement of a former: And this was reputed the same as having two at once. There were some Cases in which a Divorce was lawful, by the *Civil Law*: If a Husband was an Adulterer, a Murderer, or a Poisoner; guilty of Treason against his Prince, a perjured Person, or a Plunderer of Graves; a Robber of Churches, a Highwayman, or a Harbourn of such; a Stealer of Cattle, a Man-stealer, or a Companion of leud Women; if he attempted her Life by Poison, Sword, or any the like Means; if he beat her like a Slave, contrary to the Rules of using free-born Women: in any of these Cases, making

Cod. Theod. l. 3.

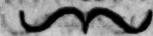
tit. 16. leg. 1.

Cod. Just. l. 5.

tit. 17. leg. 8.



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Just. Apol. 1.  
Aug. de Adulr.  
Conj. 1. 7. c. 6,  
&c.

Can. 10.

In 1 Cor. 7. 11.

Her. 59.

Trac. 7. in Mar.

Conc. Mil. c. 17.

Proof before a competent Judge, she might be divorced: And the same Liberty was allowed the Man, *vice versa*. But the *Ecclesiastical Law* admitted of Divorces only for Adultery and malicious Desertion; and in that Case Women as well as Men were allow'd to divorce themselves from the offending Party, as appears from *Justin Martyr*, and several Places of *St. Austin*: besides some Canons which oblige the Clergy to dismiss their adulterous Wives, under pain of ecclesiastical Censure; tho *St. Austin* pleads with the Laity rather to be reconciled to them upon Repentance. And one Reason he gives is, That he thought the Scripture forbad both Man and Woman to marry again, even after a lawful Divorce, till one of the Parties was dead. But this he does not positively assert, and only delivers his own Opinion. The first Council of *Arles* seems to have had the same Notion: For the Fathers there declare it to be unlawful; but they do not order the Censure of Excommunication on them that do, but only advise the contrary. *St. Ambrose* allows the Man, but not the Woman, to marry again; in which he seems to be singular. For *Epiphanius* says the Scripture condemns neither that do. And *Origen*, tho he himself was against the thing, plainly declares that there were some Bishops in his time who allowed both to marry after such Divorces, while the separate Party was still living; and he thinks they might have Reasons, in regard to Infirmities, for permitting it. Yet some Councils, as of *Eliberis* and *Milevis*, forbad such Marriages under the Penalty of Excommunication, to those that were of the number of the Faithful, only making some Allowance to mere Catechumens. From all which we may perceive, that this was always reckon'd a difficult Question, Whether Persons, after a Divorce by Law, might marry again in the Lifetime of the relinquished Party. But tho the Antients differed in this Point, they were unanimous, That to marry a second Wife, after an unlawful Divorce, whilst the former was living, was profest

fest Adultery, and to be punished with the sharpest Censures of the Church; as appears from the *Apostolical Canons*, the *Canons of Eliberis*, and all other *Canons* which speak any thing on this Head.

Some *Canons* also press hard upon second, third, and fourth Marriages; by which they mean marrying two or three Wives successively after the Death of the former. These were censured by the Council of *Neocæsarea*, and had a Penance allotted them; and several of the antient Writers are very severe against them. The Author of the

Can. 3.

*Constitutions* declares against second and third Marriages as Transgressions of the Law; and brands fourth Marriages with the Name of *πορνεία*; manifest Fornication. But *Hermes Pastor*

Coteler. in Const.

l. 3. c. 2.

is more candid: For in answer to this Question about the Lawfulness of second Marriages, he says, He who marries, sins not; but if he continues as he is, he shall obtain great Honour of the Lord.

Past. l. 2.

And *St. Austin* answers the Question after the same manner. *Epiphanius* also is of the same Opinion, and disputes the Matter against both the *Montanists* and the *Novatians*. And it is certain the great Council of *Nice* determined this Matter

Can. 8.

against the *Novatians*, obliging them *δυσχεύουσιν κοινωμέναις*, to communicate with *Digamists*, or those who were twice married. So that whatever private Opinions some might entertain, it is certain the Rule of the Church did not bring such Persons under Discipline, as guilty of any Crime.

To proceed therefore with the more uncontested Discipline of the Church against some other Practices of Uncleanness. *Constantine* condemns all sorts of Raptors to the Flames, as well those that ravished Virgins against their Wills, as those that stole them with their own Consent, against the Will of their Parents. *Constantius* and *Jovian*

Cod. Th. l. 9 tit.

24. leg. 1.

also made it capital, tho they mitigated the Punishment to a common Death. The Laws of the Church likewise appoint Excommunication for the Punishment of this Crime, and oblige the Man to marry no other, altho the Woman be poor.

Can. Apol. 67.

*St. Basil* condemns Raptors to four Years Penance,

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Bis. Ep. 244.

De Pud. c. 4.

Can. 16.

Can. 7.

*Can. 22.* where by a Rape he means the lowest Degree of it, that is, stealing a Virgin espoused to another Man, and detaining her against her Father's Consent. But elsewhere he orders not only the Raptor to be excommunicated, but also his Family, and the Place or Village where he dwelt, if they were Accomplices, or assisting him in his Usurpation. From whence we may infer, That if stealing and detaining a Virgin with her own Consent was thus punishable, the defiling her by Violence was a more heinous Crime.

But besides these there were other sorts of Uncleanliness of a monstrous Nature; such as the defilement of Men with Brutes, commonly called *Bestiality*; and the defilement of Men with Men, called *Sodomy*; and the defilement of Mens own Bodies with themselves by voluntary *Self-Pollution*. *Tertullian* calls all these Furies of Lusts; and the Church laid a singular Punishment upon such as were guilty of them, excluding them not only from all parts of the Church, but from the very entrance of it. The Council of *Ancyra* orders such as are guilty of bestial Lusts before they are twenty Years old to be Prostrators fifteen Years, and after that communicate in Prayers only for five Years: but if they exceed that Age and be marry'd when they fall into that Sin, they are to be Prostrators twenty five Years, and five Years after communicate in Prayers only: if they are above fifty, they are to do Penance all their Lives, and only communicate at the point of Death. And the next Canon orders them, if they are Leprous (that is, infect others by tempting and teaching them to commit the same Sin) to pray *eis tous xēmatōnēvous*, *inter Hyemantes*, that is either among the Dæmoniacks, or those that were exposed to the Weather without the Walls of the Church. The Council of *Eliberis* denies them Communion at the last Hour; and in fine these Crimes stand condemned by the Writers of all Antiquity.

But besides these direct, and immediate, Acts of Uncleanliness, they also censured and punished all

all other Acts that opened and prepared the way to them. Of which kind, the maintaining or encouraging of Harlots, publicly or privately, was always reckon'd a most infamous Practice.

By the Laws of *Constantine*, if a Woman was a *Conciliatrix*, a Pander or Procurer of Adultery in others, her Husband was allowed to put her away. If a Parent or a Master prostituted his

Cod. Th. l. 3.  
tit. 16. Leg. 1.

Daughter, or his Maid Slave, they were to forfeit all Right of Dominion over them: and the Parties so compelled might appeal to the Bishop,

Cod. Just. l. 11.  
tit. 40. Leg. 6.

&c. And if after that, their Master, or Father, would go on as a Pander still, to compel them, their Goods were to be confiscated, and their Persons banished and sent to the Mines; by the Laws

of *Theodosius Junior*: And *Theodosius the Great* made a Law to demolish all the *Seistra*, or infamous Houses at *Rome*, as *Theodosius Junior* did at *Constantinople*, appointing those that kept them to be whipped and expelled the City. And as to the Ecclesiastical Laws, they punished no Crime more

Socrat. l. 5. c. 18.

severely than this. A Canon of the Council of *Eliberis* orders; 'That if a Father or Mother,

Can. 11.

'or any Christian, exercise the Trade of a Pander, for as much as they set to sale the Body of another, or rather their own, they shall not be received to Communion, no not at their last Hour. And another decrees, That if a

Can. 70.

Woman commits Adultery by the consent of her Husband, they shall be rejected even to the last. From whence it is observable that this Crime was esteemed greater than Fornication, and Adultery it self: because Adulterers were received to the Peace of the Church, after a Term of Penance; but this was denied Communion to the very last.

Another way of promoting Uncleaness, was, the writing or reading obscene Books, and Plays; and for that Reason the Antients, as they burned all sorts of Heretical Books, so they forbade the other, and severely censured the Authors of them, if any such were composed by Christians. Hence,

*Heliodorus* a Bishop of *Thessaly* was censured when

Socrat. l. 5. c. 20.



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a Bishop, for a wanton Book he wrote when a young Man, and deprived of his Bishoprick, because he would not recant it. For the same Reason they are equally severe against the Frequenters of the Theatre, and publick Stage-Plays, as may be seen in the many Investives of *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* against them: For, in those Times, the *Civil Law* allowing Interludes, for the diversion of the People, when they were purged from Idolatry, but not from Leudness; the Fathers contented themselves to declaim against them, being they might not use the more exact and primitive Discipline of the Church. And for the same end all Luxury and Riot and Intemperance were forbidden and sharply censured by the Antients. This we find in the Councils of *Agde* and *Vannes*, where even one single Act of Drunkenness in a Clergyman, is punished with Suspension from Communion thirty Days, or Corporal Punishment: and there goes a Decree under the Name of Pope *Eutychian*, which makes the habit of Drunkenness Excommunication to a Layman also, till he reform. But it must be own'd this Vice was sometimes so [Epidemical], that the Numbers of Transgressors made the Exactness of Discipline impracticable.

It is also to be noted upon this Head, That as a preservative of Modesty and Chastity, both the *Canon* and *Civil Law* prohibited Men and Women to go into the same Baths together. This is expressly forbid in the *Constitutions*, and by the Councils of *Laodicea* and *Trullo*, under the Penalty of Deposition to a Clergyman, and Excommunication to a Layman. And the *Imperial Laws* of *Justinian* carry'd the matter a little higher: For, among other Causes of a lawful Divorce, he makes this one, if a Woman be so intemperate and luxurious, as to go into a common Bath with Men.

For the same Reason, all promiscuous and lascivious dancing of Men and Women together was prohibited by the Council of *Laodicea* and the 3d of *Toledo*. The Council of *Agde* particularly

Cont. Vener. c.  
23.

Dec. ap. Crab.

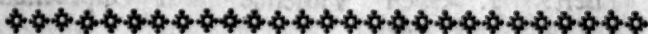
L. 1. c. 9.  
Leod. c. 30.  
Trul. c. 77.

L. 5. tit. 17.  
Leg. 11.

Laod. c. 53. Tol.  
3. Agath. c. 39.

larly forbids the Clergy to be present where such Dances were used and Love-Songs sung. And if they use any scurrility or filthy jesting themselves, they are to be removed from their Office. The like Canons also occur in the Council of *Lerida*. Chap. 12.

The promiscuous use of Habits, or Men and Women interchanging their Apparel, and Women particularly to wear the Habit of Men under pretence of Religion, and cut off their Hair for the like Reason; is forbidden by the Council of *Gangra* under the Penalty of *Anathema*: and *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* declaim against it, upon any account whatsoever. Ap. Crab. Can. 13.



## C H A P. XII.

*Of the great Transgressions of the Eighth Commandment, Theft, Oppression, Usury, perverting of Justice, Fraud and Deceit in Trust and Traffick, &c.*

**T**HERE were certain Hereticks in the antient Church, who called themselves *Apotactici*, from renouncing the World; Aug. de Har. c. 40. and *Apostolici*, from their pretended Imitation of the *Apostles*; and *Encratite*, from their Ostentation of Temperance above other Men; who under pretence of greater Religion would allow no Men to have any thing of their own Right in this World, but obliged all Men to have all things in common. This, as it was a general sort of Invasion of the Rights and Properties of Mankind, robbing them of every thing, in a new and extraordinary way, by turning Religion into Art; so it may very properly be termed a Transgression of the Eighth Commandment: And as such it was condemned by the antient Church; and the Abettors of this Doctrine were subjected to all the Civil Penalties, except that of Confiscation.

Cod. Th. 1. 16.  
Leg. 7.

cation of Goods, that were generally imposed upon Hereticks in all Cases.

Next to this general sort of Robbery, the Laws set a particular mark upon *Plagiary*, or Man-stealing. *Constantine* made this Crime Capital; tho the Ecclesiastical Laws appoint no Punishment for it. But being it is of the same Nature with Murder, it is supposed the Penalties of Murderers were inflicted on it. *Sacrilege* also was another Species of Theft, but the Punishment of that has been considered under another Title. The remaining sorts of Injustice may be summed up under these four Heads. 1. Malicious Injustice. 2. Simple Theft. 3. Open Violence and Oppression. 4. Fraud and Deceit.

Malicious Injustice is doing hurt to our Neighbour in his Goods, out of pure Hatred, when we do our selves no Benefit by it: As when Men fire Houses, &c. only out of Malice. The old *Roman Law* makes this Capital; but the *Ecclesiastical Law* assigns no Punishment for it: yet Theft and Murder commonly concurring in Incendiaries, it may be supposed the Punishment of those was inflicted on them.

Tract. 12. in  
Joan.  
Baf. c. 61.

Simple Theft is put into the first Class of heinous Crimes by *St. Austin*; for which Men were to do a more formal Penance in the Church. A Thief, discovering himself, was to do one Year's Penance; and two, if he was discovered by others. Under this Head they reckoned such as detained found Goods from the true Proprietor. *St. Austin* condemns this as manifest Robbery: And *Origen* says the same.

Hom. 19. de Ver.  
Ap.

They put also into the same Class all such as refused to pay their just Debts; especially such as used any base and sinister Arts to excuse themselves from them. Among just Debts they always reckoned those which Men contracted by Promise and Engagements to each other; every Breach of which was esteem'd a Theft, and punish'd accordingly. Upon this account, Parents that broke the Ante-nuptial Contracts made in the behalf of their Children, are deemed guilty of Robbery,

Robbery, by the Council of *Eliberis*, and obliged to abstain three Years from the Communion. Among these also, the removing Landmarks was accounted no small Crime; which the Church-Law always condemned as a cursed Crime from the Law of God. Under this Title they also censured all such ambitious Bishops as endeavoured unjustly to enlarge the Limits of their Dioceses, and to bring Places out of their Districts under their Jurisdiction.

Another Species of Theft was called Oppression, which comprehends all hostile Invasion, robbing with Arms upon the High-way, breaking Houses in the Night, Piracy at Sea, cruel Exactions of Judges and other publick Officers, perverting of Justice by Bribery, or rigorous Interpretations of the Law, together with Extortion and unjust Usury: and are all subjected to Excommunication by the antient Canons. And that this was the common Discipline of the antient Church, will appear by examining particulars. The most flagitious Oppression was committed by Judges in their Office by cruel Exactions, &c. which the Law commonly terms *Crimen Repetundarum & Peculatus*, and was often censured by the Church. The *Imperial Laws* also were very severe as well as numerous in this Case. By a Law of *Theodosius* it was permitted to bring Informations against corrupt Judges even in the time of their Administration; nay, and Men were invited and encouraged to do it; a Reward being allowed them that could make good such Charges. And whereas the Punishment of such Corruption was only a Mulct before, *Theodosius* made it Capital. At *Carthage* they had a peculiar good Custom to discourage such Practices. Every Year the new Proconsul upon a day called *Albi Citatio*, was used to read over a List of the Governors that had been before him: At which time the Just, &c. were honoured in their absence with the Applauses of the People; but those who had acted the contrary part, were noted with marks of Infamy, by general Hissings and Reproaches.

The

Conc. Car. 4.  
c. 94. & Constit.  
l. 4. c. 6.

Li. 9. tit. 27.  
Leg. 6.

Prosp. de Promis.  
Dei.



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Cod. Th. l. 8. tit.  
10. Leg. 1.

L. 11. tit. 7.  
Leg. 20.

The Laws against all Super-Exactors, as they are called, of the publick Revenues, were also very severe. *Constantine* condemned this Crime as Capital: and other Laws required a fourfold Restitution. But *Honorius* joined both Punishments together, ordering the Exactor to be put to Death, and a quadruple Restitution to be made out of his Estate; laying a Fine of 30 Pounds of Gold upon any Judge, that neglected to put the Law in Execution. Now what the *Civil Law* so severely condemned, there is no question but the *Ecclesiastical Law* punished in the spiritual way, with equal severity, under the name of Oppression.

Cod. Th. l. 8. tit.  
10. Leg. 2. tit.  
10.

Novel. tit. 12.

The Exactions of Advocates, Lawyers, Apparitors, and Officers of the Civil Courts, and Attendants of Judges, were also called Oppression, and provided against by several Laws. The Law allowed them certain stated Wages, or Canonical Pensions as the Term is, for pleading and managing Causes; and to exact more was reckoned Oppression, and ordered to be punished by *Constantine*. *Constantine* orders such to be expelled the Court, and never after to be allowed the Liberty of Pleading. And because in the time of *Valens* wicked Advocates were wont to oppress the Poor, by encouraging their Clients to draw their Adversaries in a Civil Cause from the Cognizance of the ordinary Judges to a Military Tribunal, where they had more Liberty by Bribery, &c. to oppress them; *Arcadius* made a Law to correct this, inflicting Banishment upon any that should so transfer a Cause, and laying a Mulct of ten Pounds of Gold upon the Advocate, except they had the Emperor's Licence. *Valentinian III.* added to this, that the Advocate should lose his Office, and the Counsellor be banished also. And tho' the *Ecclesiastical Law* does not specify these things, we may suppose they were included in the general Notion of illegal Oppression, which was thought to deserve Ecclesiastical Censure.

But there is one sort of Oppression, which the Laws of the Church take more particular notice of,

of, and condemn both in Clergy and Laity; that is, Gripping, Usury, and Extortion upon the Poor. But the Nature and Degrees of this having been already explained, it remains only to be observed, that the Censures of the Church passed upon all that were guilty of what they reckoned cruel in it. The Practice of Usury is expressly forbidden by the Council of *Eliberis*; to the Clergy under pain of Deposition; and to the Laity under the penalty of Excommunication. The first Council of *Carthage* gives this reason why Clergymen should not practise it, because it was a thing that was culpable in Laymen. And the reason why it was so generally condemned by the Antients, even in Laymen, was because it was commonly a great Oppression of the Poor, to whom the Charity of lending without Usury was due; and many times it was attended with Extortion, which was a plain Robbery, and a cruel Oppression of those to whom Mercy and Charity ought to be shewn, upon all Occasions. And to this we may join all Extortion made by Force or Fear, which the *Civil Law* condemns and annuls, [tho a Covenant or Promise had been obtained of the injur'd Party.

The last sort of Robbery was that which was committed by Fraud and Deceit, which the Law calls *Dolus malus & stellionatus*, from *Stellio* that little Animal, with shining Spots like Stars, the *Lizard* or *Tarantula*, of which it is observed, that there is no Animal which so fraudulently envies Man as this; for changing his Skin every Year, which was reckoned a sovereign Remedy against the Falling-Sickness, he devours it himself, lest Men should have the Benefit of it: Whence the Lawyers call all Imposture and Fraud, which has no special Title in Law, *Stellionatus*, as *Ulpian* explains it. The many Instances of Frauds and Collusions of this Nature are such as cannot all be recounted; but the chief may be summed up under these five Titles, Forgery, Calumny, Flattery, Deceitfulness in Trust, and Deceitfulness in Traffick.

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Cod. Th. l. 9.  
tit. 21. leg. 1, 2,  
3, 5, 6.

Forgery might be committed either in counterfeiting Coin, to impose upon the Unskillful; or else in counterfeiting Deeds and Instruments, to lay claim to other Mens Estates, as is done by those who make a Title upon false Wills or Bonds, or conceal and corrupt the true ones. Counterfeiting the Coin was punished by the State with Confiscation, Banishment, or Death; and there is no doubt but it was condemned as a Fraud and Robbery by the Church. The counterfeiting of false Deeds, and especially Wills, was esteemed a heinous Crime, punishable with the same Penalties as the former by the Laws of the State; and for the same reason liable to Ecclesiastical Censure.

Ib. l. 9. tit. 1.  
leg. 11.

Another sort of Fraud that might be committed in order to rob Men of their Estates and Fortunes, was impeaching them of feigned Crimes, by false Accusation and Calumny. This, when it affected Mens Lives, was a Species of Murder; but considering it only as affecting their Estates and Fortunes, it is proscribed by the Law, under the Title of Theft, as appears from a Law of *Valentinian* and *Gratian*, which joins three Species of Calumny together, viz. against Mens Fame and Reputation, their Fortunes and their Lives, appointing them the same Punishment as they intended to bring upon the Party they impeached. Other Laws order such Calumniators, fraudulent Informers, and false Accusers, to be prosecuted with Confiscation and Death. The *Ecclesiastical Law* also enjoins them a severe Penance. The Council of *Eliberis* orders him that bears false Witness against another, to the Loss of his Life or Liberty, not to be received to Communion at his last Hour: And if it was a lighter Cause, he was to do Penance for five Years. And the Author of the *Constitutions* orders Soldiers also who are false Accusers, and not content with their Wages, but oppress the Poor, to be rejected from the Communion.

Can. 73.

L. 4. c. 6.

Another kind of Fraud was Flattery, by the Help of which some got themselves made Heirs

to 'dying Persons, to the Prejudice of those who had a more just and real Title. To prevent which, *Valentinian* made a Law, That such fraudulent Intruders might be prosecuted by the legal Heirs; and that such Legacies should be set aside, or otherwise be confiscated to the Publick. And there are two other Laws of *Theodosius* much to the same purpose. *St. Ambrose* also and *St. Jerom* do severely censure this Crime, esteeming it no less a Theft than that which was committed by open Violence. This was a scandalous sort of Theft even among the Heathens; which makes it the less Wonder that the Christian Law should proscribe it, and the Fathers so sharply inveigh against it, when it often carried a Face of augmenting the Revenues of the Church.

Another sort of Fraud was Deceitfulness in Trust, as when a Steward or Servant embezzles his Master's Goods, or makes fraudulent and injurious Bargains for him; or when a Guardian or Tutor of a Will enriches himself out of the Spoil of others; or when a Man denies or conceals, or refuses to restore any thing that was deposited in his Hands in Trust. The Antients were extremely conscientious in this last Point, insomuch that they used to bind themselves every Lord's Day by an Oath, not to deny any thing wherewith they were intrusted, when they were required to deliver it up again: and therefore we may conclude a Crime of this Nature was enough to debar from the Communion. But there were some Trusts of a more sacred Nature, being design'd for the Service of God and the Poor; and a Breach of this kind was a Complication of Murder, Sacrilege and Injustice: And for this Reason the fourth Council of *Carthage* subjects Criminals of this Nature to Excommunication.

The last sort of Fraud is that in Traffick between Buyer and Seller. The Buyer might be guilty either in taking advantage of the Ignorance of the Seller, not knowing the true Value of his own Goods; or of his Necessity; or in pay-



Book XVI. ing him in bad Money. This last sort of Fraud was severely punished by the Laws. For the Vender, as well as the Forger of false Coin, is condemned in all the Penalties of Fraud recounted in the *Pandects*. And *Constantine* made it capital knowingly to vend, as well as adulterate the Coin. And tho this be not expressly specified in the *Ecclesiastical Law*, it must be comprehended under the Title of Frauds. As to the Buyer's taking advantage of the Seller's Ignorance, this being a thing not easy to be discovered or proved, it may be supposed to be a Fraud rather left to his own Conscience, than ordinarily brought under publick Discipline.

Digest. l. 13. tit. 7. leg. 1.

Cod. Th. l. 9. tit. 22. leg. 1.

On the other hand, Fraud in the Seller might be by over-rating the Commodity, to the ignorant or necessitous Buyer, which is Extortion and Oppression; by vending corrupt Wares, which is a Fraud in Quality; by using false Weights and Measures, which is a Fraud in Quantity, and which is commonly branded with this Note in Scripture, that *it is an Abomination to the Lord*. This was a very notorious Crime in the Eye of the Law, and very severe Punishments, even Capital, are appointed for it. The Church has not many particular Laws about this in her Discipline. Only the Author of the *Constitutions* gives a general Rule about this Matter, when he orders the Bishop to reject the Oblations of all such as were noted by the Name of *ῥαδιουργοί*, fraudulent Dealers: And he more particularly marks the *στολομέτραι*, those that used Fraud in Measures, and the *ζυγοκῆσαι*, that is, such as gave a Turn to the Scale with their Fingers, to gain that by Artifice which they durst not venture to do by false Weights: All which were liable to Penance by Ecclesiastical Censure. The same Author likewise takes notice of the other sort of Fraud in putting off corrupt Wares. The Persons that used to do so, he calls *καπηλοί*, whom the *Latins* call *Caupones*; by which he does not mean Victuallers, but fraudulent Hucksters, who corrupt and adulterate their Wares, and whom he therefore orders to be rejected

I. 4. c. 6.

rejected from the Communion. This Crime is also severely censured by *Lactantius* and St. *Hilary*. Chap. 12.

The last sort of Fraud in the Seller is committed by over-rating his Goods, which is done either by Monopolizers, or when the Seller takes the advantage of the Ignorance or Necessity of the Buyer. The Emperor *Zeno* made a famous Law against Monopolizers, in which he prohibits any single Man to monopolize any Wares, under the Penalty of Confiscation of all his Goods, and Banishment of his Person: And then he inhibits any Body of Men to combine in any unlawful Contract not to sell their Goods but at a certain Rate, under the Penalty of forty Pound of Gold. Against the Seller's taking advantage of the Buyer's Ignorance, the Laws could not well provide in all Cases; and therefore it was rather left to the Conscience of Men; or however is condemned by the Laws of the Church only under the Name of *perjurya*, base Craft, which debarred Men from making their Oblations. Cod. Just. l. 4. tit. 59. leg. 1.

And to this may be reduced the selling of that to which the Seller has no just Title, as the selling of fugitive Slaves belonging to another Master, which the Law forbids; as also selling of things of no real Worth, taking Money for calculating Nativities, &c. Ibid. l. 9. tit. 107. leg. 6.

Besides actual Theft, there was a virtual Theft also: as the harbouring, abetting and concealing Robbers; buying of stolen Goods; leading an idle Life without any lawful Vocation; spending in Prodigality or unlawful Gaming, that which was designed for the Maintenance of others: All which either the Laws of the Church or State censured as so many indirect Ways of encouraging or committing Robbery. One Law of *Valentinian* condemns them as Associates with the Criminals, and makes them liable to the same Punishment. Harbourers of Robbers he makes liable either to corporal Punishment or Confiscation, according to the Quality of their Persons. And if Cod. Th. l. 9. tit. 29. leg. 1.

Book XVI. any Agent or Steward shelter'd them without his Lord's Knowledge, he was to be burnt alive.

They who bought stolen Goods, knowing them to be such, were also deemed guilty of partaking in the Theft, because this was an Encouragement to Robbers, and a sort of Approbation of them; which the Church punished with her Censure. There was but one Case in which the Casuists allow Men to buy of a known Thief, and that is when he can do it for a small Matter, with Intent to restore it to the Owner. And for this they alledge the known Rules of the *Civil Law*. Want of Vocation also and Idleness, which usually puts them upon unlawful Practices to support a dissolute Life, were esteemed the Mother and Nurse of Theft; and therefore as the Laws of the State made Idleness in Vagrants an actionable Crime, so the Rules of the Church brand it as an infamous way of living, and worthy of Ecclesiastical Censure.

Gaming also, as an Encourager to this Vice and many others, was severely censured by the Church: But considered only as attended with the evil Effects of Fraud and Consumption of Mens Estates, it is a downright Theft; and as such it was antiently prohibited by the Rules of the Church, not only to the Clergy, but the Laity also: 'If any Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, says one of the *Apostolical Canons*, spend his time at Dice, or in Drinking, let him either refrain or be deposed.' And the next Canon adds, 'If any Subdeacon, Reader or Singer, do the like, let him be excommunicated, and Laymen also.' And so the Council of *Eliberis* separates all Gamblers in general from the Communion: 'If any Christian play at Dice or Tables, let him be refrain'd from Communion; but if he leaves off and amends, after a Year's Penance, he may be reconciled.' To correct this Vice, the State also had some wholesom Laws. *Justinian* in particular made a Law, That no one should be obliged to pay what he lost at Dice; or if he had paid it, he or his Heirs might recover it at Law of the Winner or his Heirs, for thirty Years after,

Can. 79.

Cod. Just. 1. 3.  
tit. 43. leg. 1.

ter, and longer : Or if he did not reclaim it, any one else might do it, or the chief Magistrate of the City, and the Defensor might exact it, and lay it out upon some publick Work or Building for the Use of the City. And in such Games as were permitted, he allowed the richest to play for no more than one Shilling, and others only in proportion to their Substance.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Of Crimes against the Ninth Commandment, False Accusation, Libelling, Informing, Calumny and Slander, Railing, and Reviling, &c.*

 H E Intent of the Ninth Commandment is to secure our Neighbour's Credit from Injury, by spreading false Reports of him, to the Prejudice of his good Name. This is sometimes done by bearing false Witness against him ; and then it was Perjury added to Calumny, and sometimes Theft and Murder also. The Greatness of the Crime in these Respects, has already been shewed under the several Titles of Perjury, Theft, and Murder : but consider'd only as an Injury to Mens Reputation, Calumny was always esteem'd a flaming Crime, and therefore the Laws were very careful to award against it. The Punishment of false Witness among the old Romans, was to cast the Criminal headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock. The *Lex Remmia* made it burning in the Face with the Letter *K*, denoting them to be Calumniators or false Accusers. And tho the Christian Law abolished that Law, yet still false Accusation and Calumny were corrected with suitable Punishments, such as Infamy, Banishment,



Book XVI. ment, and suffering the same Evil, by the Law of Retaliation, as appears from several Laws in the *Imperial Codes*. Nor were the *Ecclesiastical Laws* less severe in their way against such Transgressors. False Witness was punished with five Years Penance; and this, provided it was not in the case of Death. For in that case the Criminal was debarred the Communion to the last, by the Council of *Eliberis*. The Councils of *Agde* and *Vannes* leave the Penance of such Criminals to the Discretion of the Bishop; and the first of *Arles* enjoins it all their Lives.

Can. 74.

Cod. Th. 1. 9.  
tit. 34. leg. 7.

Another Way of injuring Mens Credit and Reputation was by spreading false Reports in a clandestine manner, which the Laws call *Libelling*. This was done, when a Man was accused by Bill of Indictment, to which the Author was afraid to set his Name. There are several Laws extant against this Crime, but one of *Valentinian* particularly remarkable: 'The very Name of scandalous Libels is infamous. Therefore whoever collects or reads them, and does not immediately commit them to the Flames, shall be liable to be condemned to a capital Punishment.' The *Ecclesiastical Law* also made the Authors and Publishers of all such Pasquils, when detected, liable to Excommunication. 'If any are found, says the Council of *Eliberis*, to have scatter'd or dispersed infamous Libels in the Church, let them be anathematized.'

Can. 52.

The Detraction of Whisperers and Backbiters was another sort of secret Defamation, much declaimed against by the Antients. *St. Austin* particularly, to guard his own Family and Conversation from it, caused these two Verses to be written upon his Table:

*Quisquis amat dictis absentem rodere vitam,  
Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.*

This Board allows no vile Detractor Place,  
Whose Speeches load the Absent with Disgrace.

And

And *Possidius* says he was so punctual in the Observation of this Rule, that he would sometimes sharply reprove his most familiar Acquaintance and Fellow-Bishops for forgetting it. But yet we do not find that this Crime was liable to publick Discipline by any general Rule of the Church; perhaps, because it was too epidemical.

But when this Detraction brake out into scandalous Railing, and Scurrility, it was reckoned among the Crimes that deserved Ecclesiastical Censure: In so much, that a Clergyman noted for it is order'd to be degraded, by the Council of *Agde*, Can. 70. and the fourth Council of *Carthage*, Can. 60.

Thus far the Discipline of the Church proceeded against all pernicious Lying; but as for the ludicrous and officious Lye, it was more favourable to them. *Tertullian* says the officious Lye was not punished by the Church, tho *St. Austin* makes it to be both culpable and sinful; yet not to that degree as to incur the Severity of publick Discipline.

De Pud. c. 19.

De Mend. c. 13.

When Lying was attended with pernicious Effects, it was punished according to those Effects; as we have seen in the Case of false Witness, Libelling, &c. And when it implied any Fraud or Equivocation in Matters of Religion, it was punished as Apostacy or Perjury, as we have seen in the Case of the *Libellatici*, who were condemned by the Church, as guilty by their Diffimulation and Cowardice of betraying their Holy Religion.





## C H A P. XIV.

*Of the great Transgressions against the Tenth Commandment; Envy, Covetousness, &c.*

**T**H E Crimes against this Commandment consisting chiefly in the Corruptions of the Mind, the Church could take no notice of them, till they discovered themselves in some outward Actions. Envy was always reckoned a diabolical Sin, but yet it could not be punished by the Church before it appear'd in some outward Action: Therefore then, and not till then, it fell under the Cognizance of publick Discipline, and was punished according to the Nature of the Crimes into which it led.

The like is also to be observed of Pride, Ambition, Vain-Glory, and Covetousness, which were not punishable by the Censures of the Church, till they appeared in some Overt-Acts; agreeable to what *Gregory Nyssen* says of Covetousness, That among all the Species of Covetousness, none were expiated by publick Penance, but such as Theft and Violation of Graves; that is, such Instances of Covetousness as manifested themselves in some outward and apparent evil Action.

Ep. ad Letocum.

And the like is to be said of the Lust of the Heart, or carnal Lusts, and Sins of Uncleanness; because the Church is no Judge of the secret Intentions, but only of outward and visible Actions, that carry Scandal as well as Sin in them. Therefore the Council of *Neocæsarea* says, That no one was

Can. 4.

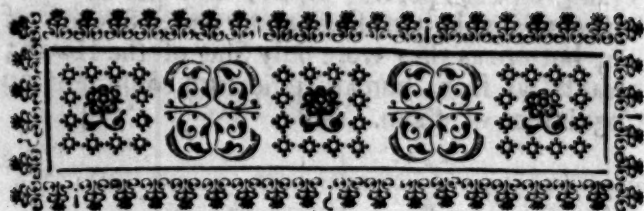
was to be excommunicated for Sins only in Design and Intention. And this was the Case of all Transgressions purely against this Command: They might be punished under other Species of Sin; but not as they were only Sins of the Heart; because, as such, human Judicature could take no Cognizance of them.

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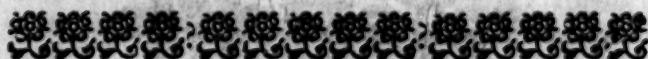
BOOK





## BOOK XVII.

*Of the Exercise of Discipline among the  
Clergy in the Antient Church.*



### CHAP. I.

*Of the Difference between Ecclesiastical Cen-  
sures inflicted on Clergymen and Laymen.*



TO have a compleat Notion and full Comprehension of the Church's Discipline, we may consider that there were some Punishments and Censures so particularly respecting the Office and Function of the Clergy, that they could only be inflicted on them, and not on Laymen. Hence we find the Words *Communio & Excommunicatio Ecclesiastica* in a particular and restrained Sense, not for Communion or Excommunication in general, but for Admission to, or Expulsion from those particular Honours and Advantages

antages which were peculiarly appropriated to Ecclesiastical Persons, or such as were of the Clerical Order and Function. Whence it is that tho some Canons take Suspension from Ecclesiastical Communion for Suspension of Laymen from the Communion of Divine Worship; yet other Canons speaking of the Clergy and their Punishment, take Ecclesiastical Communion in a more restrain'd Sense, for communicating in the Offices of the Clerical Function. So that a Clergyman was then said to be excommunicated, when deprived of the Power of exercising the Offices of his Function: And no other Meaning can the Words *ἐκκοινωνήσας, ἀφορισμὸς, ἐκκλησιάζειν*, which signify Excommunication when applied to the Clergy, have, but their Degradation or Suspension from the Duties of their Office only; and not a total Removal from the Communion of the Church.

Conc. Agath.  
can. 37. Aurel.  
4. can. 19.

Can. Apost. 6,  
43, 45, 54, 57,  
&c.

But yet for some flagrant Crimes, such as Murder, Simony, &c. both Penalties were inflicted on them. For the *Apostolical Canons* order that if any Clergyman was found guilty of Simony, or any other such like heinous Offence, he should not only be depos'd from his Office, but cast out of the Church. And St. *Cyprian* tells us that *Novatus* in causing his Wife by a Blow to miscarry, was judged guilty of Murder; for which Crime he was not only to be degraded or expelled the Presbytery, but to be deprived of the Communion of the Church also.

Can. 29, 30, &c.

Ep. 49. al. 52.  
ad Cornel.

The Punishments which particularly affected the Clergy, were of three sorts; such as respected their Maintenance, their Office, or their Persons in corporal Chastisement. In their Maintenance they were sometimes punished by withdrawing the usual Portion of the Church's Revenues, which was allotted them out of the publick Stock for their Maintenance and Subsistence.

Cypr. Ep. 28. ad  
Cler.

The Suspension from their Office and Function was either temporary and limited, or perpetual and without Restriction. The temporary Suspension was only a depriving them of the Execution of their Office for a certain Term, at the

Expira-

Book XVII. Expiration of which they had Liberty to resume their Place, and return to the Execution of their Office in all the Parts and Duties of their Function. And this was commonly call'd Abstenſion and Suſpenſion from Clerical Communion, and was inflicted for ſmall Crimes. Thus the Council of *Epone* enjoins, that if a Biſhop, Preſbyter, or Deacon be detected to keep Dogs for Hunting, or Hawks for Fowling, the Biſhop ſhould be ſuſpended for three Months, the Preſbyter for two, and the Deacon for one. And by a Canon in the Council of *Lerida* it is enacted, That if any Clergyman in a Siege bore Arms, and kill'd a Man, tho it were one of the Enemies, he ſhould be ſuſpended from his Office two Years, and be render'd incapable of any farther Promotion.

Can. 3.

Can. 1.

The other ſort of Suſpenſion commonly called *anathematismus*, Depoſition or Degradation, was a total and perpetual Suſpenſion of the Power and Authority committed to a Clergyman in his Ordination. For as the Church had Power to grant this Authority and Commiſſion at firſt, ſo ſhe had Power to reſume and withdraw it again upon great Miſdemeanours and juſt Provocation: And then a Clergyman, whatever Character he ſuſtained before, was totally diveſted both of the Name and Dignity, and Power, and Authority belonging to his former Order and Function. Whence he is by ſome Canons ſaid to be degraded, deprived, and turn'd out of Office; by others to be totally depoſed, totally to fall from his Order or Degree, to be unordain'd, to be removed out of the Order, and ceaſe to be of the number of the Clergy, and to be reduced to Lay-Communion, or the State and Quality of Laymen: Which laſt Expreſſion, becauſe ſome modern Writers have invented ſtrange Notions of, to ſerve a peculiar Hypotheſis, we ſhall be more particular upon in the next Chapter.

Conc. Carth. 4.

can. 48, &amp;c.

Arelat. 1. can.

1, 13, &amp;c.

Conc. Antioch.

Can. 5. Ephes.

can. 6.

C H A P. II.

Of reducing the Clergy to the State and  
Communion of Laymen, as a Punishment  
for great Offences.

**T**H E Lay-Communion was one of the greatest Privileges that belonged to a Layman, inasmuch as it entitled him to all the Benefits and Advantages of Christian Communion; yet in a Clergyman it was one of the greatest Punishments, reducing him from the highest Dignity and Station in the Church to the Level and Standard of every ordinary Christian. The Nature of this Punishment consisted not in *Bellarmino's* and other *Romish* Writers ridiculous and false Notion of communicating in one kind in the Holy Eucharist; or in *Lindanus* his more probable Sense of communicating among Laymen without the Rails of the Chancel, but in a total Deprivation of Orders, and a Reduction to the simple Condition of a Layman. Thus *Chamier* rightly explains it against *Bellarmino*, when he observes that it was called Lay-Communion, neither from the Place of communicating, nor from communicating in one Species, nor from the Time and Order of communicating, the Laity after the Clergy, but from the Condition and Quality of the Person communicating, namely, because he that before was a Clergyman, or in the Roll of the Clergy, is now become a Layman, and reckoned as one in the Order of Laymen only: and if such a one ever pretended to act as a Minister afterwards, his Actions were reputed null and void, and as no other than the Actions of a Layman. Hence they are by so many Canons wholly

De Euchar. 1. 4.

c. 24.

Panop. lib. 4.

Cone. Aurel.  
cap. 7, 8.

divested



Book XVII. divested of all their former Dignity, and Clerical Powers and Privileges, and reduced so entirely to the Condition and State of Laymen, that according to Dr. *Forbes* in his *Irenicum*, 'He that is depos'd with a plenary and perfect Deposition, cannot now validly exercise the Offices that belong to his Order, because he wants his Order and the Power of his Order. He is now nothing but a mere Layman, and in so much a worse Condition than other Laymen, because the Restitution of such a one to his Office is a much more difficult thing than the Promotion of other Laymen.' Indeed upon some great Necessity, or very pressing Reason, as in the Case of *Maximus* the Confessor, and *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, who not only returned from their Schism, but brought over a great number of People with them, this general Rule was dispensed with, and they were received to their Places in the Church again: and the same Favour was allow'd the *Novarian* and *Donatist* Clergy, out of a charitable view to put an end to those great and inveterate Schisms. But these were only Exceptions to the common Rule, and Dispensations with the general Orders and standing Discipline of the Church; which proceeded thus in her Censures with Clergymen, not only suspending them from the Execution of their Office, but depriving them of their Office, and taking away their Orders from them (notwithstanding the Pretence of the indelible Character of their Ordination) nor esteeming their Actions of any other account in the Church than as the Actions of private Men; but yet to such as quietly submitted, allowing the Benefit of Lay-Communion as a Moderation of their Punishment, whereas to those that were refractory and contumacious, that opposed her Censures, acting as Clergymen in contempt of them, she proceeded to a formal Excommunication, and denied them even the Communion of Laymen: of which *Arius* and many other first Founders of Heresies are undoubted Instances.

Cornel. Ep. 46.  
al. 49. ad Cypr.

## Of reducing the Clergy to a Lay-State.

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Chap. 2.



Sometimes the Church in case of contumacious Contempt of her Censures, had recourse to the secular Powers, craving their aid and assistance either to remove a stubborn Clergyman from his Station and honourable Post in the Church, which he obstinately detain'd after Deposition, or else to inflict some other Punishment upon him for his Chastisement and Correction. Instances of which having been given before, we shall now only take notice of one particular civil Punishment peculiar to Delinquent Clergymen, call'd *Curia tradi*, or delivering up to the secular Court. The *Curia* in the old Law denotes not only a Judges Court, but the Corporation of any City, whence the Members were commonly call'd *Decuriones & Curiales*: and therefore when a Clergyman was degraded for any Offence, and reduc'd to the quality of a Layman, then, besides that he lost all the Privileges and Exemptions which by Law and Imperial Favour belong'd to the Clergy, he was oblig'd to serve the *Curia* or secular Corporation of his City, in some servile Office, by way of additional Civil Punishment for having transgressed the Laws of the Church, and the Rules of his sacred and venerable Function: and this was a certain way of precluding him from all hopes ever after of regaining his clerical Dignity. But among the modern Canonists the Phrase signifies delivering a Clergyman up to the secular Judge after Degradation, to be punish'd for some great Crime with Death, or such capital Punishment as the Church had no Power to inflict upon him. For Clergymen were consider'd in a double Capacity, as Ministers of the Church, and as Members of the Commonwealth: whatever Crimes they committed in the first Capacity, they were liable primarily to be judg'd by the Bishops of the Church, as the proper Judges of Ecclesiastical Causes; and yet even in flagrant Crimes of this Nature, they might be then turn'd over to the secular Judges. But if their Crimes were such as more nearly affected the Peace and Tranquillity of the State, such as Treason, Sedition, Murder,

Gothofred, in  
Cod. Theod. lib.  
16.

Justin, Novel.  
123.

Conc. Chalced.  
Act. 10. Tom. 4.

Book XVII. der, Robbery, and the practice of magical Arts; then Bishops were oblig'd to turn over such degraded Clerg to the secular Court to be punish'd according to the quality of their Offences. And in this case we may suppose them to be treated as excommunicated Persons, not barely reduc'd to Lay-Communion, but one degree lower, being thrust down to the lowest Rank of notorious Criminals, and denied the common Benefit and Privilege of those who were allow'd to partake of the Communion of Laymen.



### CHAP. III.

*Of the Punishment call'd, Peregrina Communion, or reducing Clergymen to the Communion of Strangers.*



Another Punishment, peculiarly inflicted on Clergymen; was call'd *Peregrina Communion*, or the Communion of Strangers.

Hospin, Hist. Sacra, Bini in Conc. Ilerd. Can. 15. Bellarm. de Euchar. Gloss. in Gratian, Caus. 13.

Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. 2.

Cassander, Vossius.

And this some Writers confound altogether with Lay-Communion, others with Lay-Communion only in one kind; a third fancies it may signify Communion at the hour of Death, when a Man departs out of this Life to take a Pilgrimage (as he improperly calls Death) into the next World. A fourth asserts the Communion of Strangers to be that which was given to such Clergymen as were enjoin'd to go on Pilgrimage, either temporary or perpetual, by way of Penance for their Offences. And others are of opinion that it means the Oblation of the Eucharist made after some peculiar Rite, and on some particular Days, for the use of Strangers; and that it was put on Delinquent Clergymen as a punishment to communicate

municate with these. But the most probable and rational account that can be given of this difficult and doubtful matter seems to be this: It must be observ'd that Communion in the antient Church signified not only partaking of the Eucharist, or Communion of the Altar, but also partaking of the Charity of the Church. And such Travellers as came to any foreign Church without communicatory Letters to testify their Orthodoxy and pious Conversation were presum'd to be under some Censure, and not in actual Communion with their own Church. Till therefore they could clear themselves of this Suspicion, by the Rules of Catholick Unity and Communion of all Churches mutually with one another, they were to be refused Communion in a foreign Church, and only to be allow'd common Charity as Strangers. And according to these Measures Clergymen who were Delinquents were for some time treated much after the same manner, and thereupon said to be reduc'd to the Communion of Strangers; that is, they might neither officiate as Clergymen in celebrating the Eucharist nor any other part of their Office; nor in some Cases participate of the Eucharist for some time till they had made satisfaction, but only be allow'd a charitable subsistence out of the Revenues of the Church, without any legal claim to a full Proportion; till by a just Penance they could regain their former Office and Station. This Notion of the *Communio peregrina* is thus well express'd by Dr. Sherlock, who says, 'that the antient Discipline was very severe in admitting Strangers, who were unknown to them, to the Communion, lest they should admit Hereticks or Schismatics, or excommunicated Persons; and therefore if any such came who could not produce their recommendatory Letters, but pretended to have lost them by the way, they were neither admitted to Communion, nor wholly refused; but if occasion was, maintain'd by the Church, till such Letters could be procur'd from the Church, from whence they came.'

Of Church-Unity, in defence of Scillingfleet.



## Book XVII.

Socrat. lib. 6.  
cap. 9. Sozom.  
lib. 8. Synes. Ep.  
66.

Canon. Apostol.  
33.

Conc. Carth. 1.  
Can. 7.

Conc. Carth. 5.  
Can. 10. Conc.  
Nic. Can. 10.  
Conc. Agath.  
Can. 2. Conc.  
Gerunden. Can.  
10.

And this Notion seems the more agreeable, because it comes recommended and confirm'd by several Facts in antient History. One of which Instances, to name no more, was St. *Chrysostom's* treatment of the *Egyptian Monks*, who being prosecuted by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, fled to *Constantinople* to have a fair hearing of their Cause before the Emperor; where *Chrysostom* entertain'd them hospitably, and allow'd them to join in the common Prayers with the Church, but would not admit them to participate of the Eucharist, whilst their Cause was depending and undetermined. In like manner the Apostolical Canons determin'd, that if any strange Bishops, Presbyters, or Deacons travell'd without commendatory Letters, they should neither be allow'd to preach, nor be receiv'd to Communion, but only have τὰ πρὸς τὰς χρείας, what was necessary to answer their present wants; that is, a charitable Subsistence. And in the Council of *Carthage* a Rule was made, that neither a Clergyman nor Layman should communicate in a strange Church, without the Letters of their Bishop, for fear of surreptitious Communion. So that according to the treatment of Strangers, whether Clergymen or Laymen in a strange Church, such was the Discipline exercis'd upon delinquent Clergymen in their own Church; viz. they were suspended from their Office and Communion, but allow'd a necessary Subsistence.

But this Suspension of Clergymen from their Office was only temporary, not to a total reduction of them to the state and quality of Laymen: for by undergoing some private Penance, they might be restor'd to their Office and Station again. Some Canons indeed there were that prohibited Clergymen after Penance to recover their antient Dignity and Station; but those Canons are to be understood only of the publick Penance, since others after private Penance allow them to be restored.



CHAP. IV.

Of some other special and peculiar Ways of inflicting Punishment on the Clergy.

**B**ESIDES these more general and usual ways of punishing the offending Clergy, there were also some less noted and uncommon ways of censuring them. Among which that sort of Suspension may be reckon'd, which depriv'd them entirely of the exercise of their Office, and yet allow'd them to retain their Title and Dignity: And this was a sort of middle way between a temporary Suspension, and a perpetual Degradation; for they were still allow'd to communicate among the Clergy, and not entirely reduc'd to the Communion of Laymen. Thus in the Council of *Ancyra*, those Presbyters, who had sacrific'd to Idols, but afterwards return'd, and became Confessors, were allowed to keep their Dignity and Title of Presbyters, and sit among the rest in the Presbytery, but not to preach or offer the Eucharist, or perform any other Office of the sacred Function. The same is decreed concerning Deacons lapsing into Idolatry, that they might retain their Honour, but cease from all administration of the sacred Office, neither distribute the Bread nor Cup, nor minister as the common *Præco's* or Cryers of the Church; unless the Bishop in consideration of their great Pains thought fit to allow them more or less of their Office, which was left entirely to his discretion. And much the same determination concerning the offending Clergy, whether Bishops, Presbyters or Deacons, was made by the Councils of *Nice*, *Agde*, and *Ephesus*, and the Canons of *St. Basil*.

Conc. Anc. Can.

Can. 2.

Conc. Nic. c. 8.

Conc. Agath.

Can. 1. Basil.

Can. 27.

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Conc. Nic. *ibid.*  
Conc. Neoc.  
Can. 10.

Conc. Chal. Can.  
29.

Sometimes their Punishment was not a total but partial Degradation; they were not altogether depriv'd of all clerical Degree and Office, but only thrust down from an higher to a lower Order by way of Discipline and Correction; both the Councils of *Nice* and *Neocæsarea* enjoining the offending Clergy to be degraded only to the next inferiour Order. But this point of Discipline varied according the different Sentiments of Men in different Ages; for the Council of *Chalcedon* calls it Sacrilege to bring down a Bishop to the degree of a Presbyter, and that therefore if there be any just cause to remove such an one from the exercise of his Episcopal Function, he ought not to hold the place of a Presbyter neither.

Can. 9.

Sometimes again they were depriv'd of their Office, as to some particular Act of it, but allow'd to exercise the rest. Thus the Council of *Neocæsarea* orders, that if any Presbyter confess'd himself guilty of any corporeal uncleanness before his Ordination, he should not consecrate the Eucharist, but might continue in the exercise of all other parts of his Office if he was diligent in his Function.

Aug. Ep. 261.

*Ibid.*

In *Africa* we sometimes find Bishops for their Male-Administration depriv'd of their Power over some part of their Flock, and yet allow'd still the Government of the rest. And as it was a particular Custom there for the oldest Bishop to succeed to the Primacy or Metropolitcal Power of course, whatever Diocese he was possess'd of; so such an offending Bishop was always punish'd with the loss of his Seniority and Right to the Primacy, and rendered thereby incapable of ever attaining it. And this Discipline of neither depriving Bishops of their Episcopal Power, nor letting them go wholly unpunish'd, was thought to be very reasonable in it self, and a most useful Correction.

Aug. *ibid.*

Another instance of the *African* Discipline was the confining an offending Bishop to the Communion of his own Church, and prohibiting all other Bishops from admitting him to Communion in any

any of their Churches. And this also was thought a reasonable way of discountenancing an offending Bishop for some smaller faults, when they did not think them worthy of the highest Censure.

Chap. 4.

A third instance of their Discipline was the removing of a negligent Bishop from a greater Diocese to a less, which was a kind of tacit Reproach and Dishonour to him, and the Disgrace was his Punishment. For as it was an Honour for a Bishop to be translated from a less Diocese to a greater, by the Approbation and Judgment of a venerable Synod, and his Promotion was reckon'd an argument of Merit and great Worth; so it was a Blemish and Dishonour to him to be thrust down by a synodical Decree to a lower Station, tho not a lower Order, and was used by way of Punishment, as an argument of some Demerit and Misdemeanor.

Ibid.

Much of the same nature with this moderate Punishment was that which the Council of *Trullo* mentions as common to all Orders of the Clergy in general; which was to deprive them of their Seniority, and sink them down to the lowest seat or degree among those of the same Order. And this was commonly the Punishment of Persons of an ambitious and assuming Temper: agreeably to which the second Council of *Nice* made a Rule, that if one Clergyman through Haughtiness insulted another, he should for his Offence be thrust down to the lowest degree of his own Order, to teach him Humility and Submission in his Station. *Cotelerius* notes the same Method to be observ'd among the Monks, in the Rules of *Pachornius* and St. *Benedict*, for smaller Offences. And the Author of the *Constitutions* takes notice of the same Punishment as used in his time, even among the Laity also.

Can. 7.

Can. 5.

Constit. lib. 2.  
c. 58.

There was likewise a negative Punishment of the same nature for the inferior Orders of the Clergy, which was, to deny them all farther Promotion, and incapacitate them from attaining to any higher Order in the Church. Pope *Leo*

Ep. 3. ad Jul.



Book XVII. (to name no other Instances) delivers it as a Rule; founded upon the general practice of the Church, in the Case of Heretical Clergymen returning to the Unity of the Faith, that they were to take it as a Favour if they were allow'd to continue in the Order they were in before, depriv'd of all hopes of farther Advancement. And this Punishment, so far as it was serviceable to the discouragement and correction of Offences of a lesser kind, was reckon'd an useful part of the Discipline of the Church.

Can. 17.

St. *Basil* mentions another piece of Discipline inflicted on the offending Clergy, which was denying them the Liberty of exercising their Office in publick, whilst they were allow'd to officiate in private. From the publick exercise of their Function, he says, they were restrain'd because of the Scandal and Offence that was given to many thereby, whereas in their private Office no such Offence could be taken.

To all these Punishments inflicted on offending Clergymen, we may add, that in the 4th and 5th Ages, when Monasteries began to be settled in the World, nothing was more common than to confine an offending Clerk to some Monastery; either for a certain Term, or during his whole Life, as the nature of his temporary Suspension, or his perpetual Deprivation requir'd; there to exercise himself in Acts of private Repentance for his Offences. This was a Convenience rather than a Punishment, giving them an opportunity of qualifying themselves the better, either for a Restoration to their Office, or for their reception into Lay-Communion: and therefore it was indifferently used both in Cases of Deprivation and Suspension, of which some Canons in the Councils of *Sevil*, *Agde*, and *Epone* are full Proof.

In the same Ages, when it was the Custom to shut Delinquents up in a Monastery, some corporal Punishment was used as a piece of Church-Discipline. As all Monasteries had the Discipline of the Whip or Scourge among them to punish the junior Monks and unruly Offenders; so the same

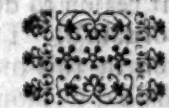
Conc. Hispal.  
Can. 3.  
Agath. c. 50.  
Epaun. c. 22.

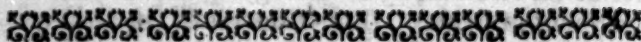
Can. 38.

Can. 41.

Ep. 159. ad  
Marcellin.Justin. Novel.  
123. c. 29.

same was used also for the Correction of the inferior Orders among the Clergy under their Confinement in Prison. The Council of *Agde* in one Canon, orders a Clergyman who wander'd about from one Church to another without the recommendatory Letters of his Bishop, to be corrected first by Words, and then by Stripes if he remain'd incorrigible upon Admonition; in another Canon enacts that a Clerk convicted of being drunken, should either be suspended 30 days from Communion, or else be chastiz'd by Corporal Punishment. *St. Austin* says, this way of Correction by corporal Correction was used in Bishop's-Courts in his time. The superior Clergy indeed were in many Cases by Law exempted from it. In a pecuniary Cause, if a Presbyter or Deacon gave false Testimony, they might be suspended and sent to a Monastery for a time, but not corporally punish'd like other Men. But in criminal Causes their false Testimony depriv'd them of their Orders, and reduc'd them to the state of Laymen; and then as other Laymen they were liable to corporal Punishment, according as the Laws requir'd. But whether it were a pecuniary or criminal Cause, if one of the inferior Orders gave false Testimony, in either Case he was liable to suffer corporal Punishment.





## C H A P. V.

*A particular account of the Crimes for which Clergymen were liable to be punish'd with any of the foremention'd Kinds of Censure.*

**B**ESIDES the many Crimes common both to Laity and Clergy, punish'd upon the former with Excommunication, and on the latter with Suspension or Deposition, there were many Transgressions and Offences that might be committed by the Clergy against the particular Rules of their Function and Profession; some of which respected their Entrance upon their Office, others their Behaviour in it.

The first and principal qualification in the Clergy at their Entrance on the Clerical Life and Function, being an orthodox Faith, and a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, for a due enquiry into which certain Rules being prescrib'd before Ordination; a defect in the Qualification, or a Transgression of any of the prescrib'd Rules was in the common course of the Discipline of the Church, a sufficient reason to depose a Clergyman as soon as he was ordain'd. The words of *Justinian* are very express in this matter. If, says he, any Bishop is ordain'd without Examination or Qualifications, we command that both he who is so ordain'd be depos'd, and also the Bishop who so illegally ordain'd him.

Another strict enquiry was to be made into the **Morals of Men**, and if they in any notorious instance had formerly been culpable and scandalous, their Ordination was forbidden; or if by ignorance

Justin. Novel.  
137.

Conc. Neocæs.  
c. 9.

rance or surreption they were ordain'd, they were immediately upon discovery and conviction to be suspended if not deposed. In like manner all Transgressions against the known Rules of Ordination were imputed to Men as Immoralities, because they were Violations of those good Rules and Orders which were made with great Wisdom for the regular Government and Benefit of the Church. And therefore if a Crime of that nature was committed, (of which there are variety of Instances) the Ordination was liable to be declar'd void originally by the Discipline of the Church, and the Clergy so ordain'd might be depos'd immediately for the Offences committed in their Ordination. 'Tis true indeed, the Church for prudential Reasons thought fit sometimes to relax her Discipline, and grant Men such Allowances as in strictness of Law they could not challenge; but the general Rules of Discipline were still in force, and were usually put in execution.

Nor was it any remedy in this Case, that Men made a solemn Atonement for their Crimes before the Church, by doing publick Penance for them. For this was so far from opening their way to a regular Ordination, that it was one of those things that render'd them incapable of it; or if by any secret Methods they had attain'd it, this was thought a sufficient Reason to withdraw their Orders and degrade them. No one that has done publick Penance, says the 4th Council of *Carthage*, shall be ordain'd a Clerk, tho he be otherwise a good Man: or if by Concealment from the Bishop's Knowledge this happen to be done, the Clerk shall be depos'd because he confess'd not at the time of his Ordination that he had done Penance in the Church. And if any Bishop should wittingly ordain any such Person, he himself should for six Months be sequestred or suspended from his Ministration: so scandalous and offensive was it always thought to allow any Man to officiate as a publick Minister who had before been a publick Penitent in the Church. The Church could admit them to Pardon and Reconciliation

Chap. 5.

Conc. Antioch.  
c. 19.

Conc. Aurelian.  
c. 11. Arausi-  
can. 1. c. 16.  
Nic. c. 1. &c.

Can. 63.

Conc. Aurel. 3.  
c. 6.



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Innoc. Ep. 24.

Conc. Tolos. 1.  
c. 8.Conc. Carth. 1.  
c. 14.

Can. 58.

Can. 9, 12, 13,  
14.

Can. 49.

ciliation after Penance, but would not allow them to aspire to any Dignity, or continue them in any sacred Office of the Clerical Function.

Another sort of Impediments of Ordination arose from Mens outward State and Condition in the World, which became afterwards sometimes Occasions of Deprivation: as if any Soldier was ordain'd, or any Slave or Vassal without the consent of his Master, or any Member of a Civil Corporation, or any of the *Curiales* of the Roman Government. These Offices and Employments being incompatible and inconsistent with the Duties of the sacred Function, many strict Rules were made to prohibit the Ordination of Men in such Capacities: and if they happen to be unwarily ordain'd against any such Prohibitions, to depose them, and remove them back again to their secular State.

So much for the Causes and Occasions of Mens Deprivation arising from some Irregularities committed in their Entrance on the Clerical Office. We come next to see what Crimes might occasion their Deprivation, or make them liable to other Censures in the Performance of their Office.

And, 1. A Clergyman was obnoxious to Censure for any Contempt of the Canons.

2. For Negligence in his Office, or Irregularity committed in the Execution of it. If a Bishop or Presbyter (say the *Apostolical Canons*) be negligent toward the other Clergy or People, not instructing them in the Ways of Godliness, he shall be suspended; and if he continues in his Neglect and Slothfulness, deposed.

3. For neglecting to use the publick Liturgy, or any part of it, the Lord's Prayer, the stated and receiv'd Hymns, &c. the fourth Council of *Toledo* in several Canons confirming the Use of them, and punishing with Deprivation and Excommunication any offending Clergy.

4. For making any material Alteration in the manner of administering the Sacraments. If any Bishop or Presbyter baptize not (says one of the *Apostolical Canons*) according to the Command-

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ment of the Lord, in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but in three unoriginated Beings, or three Sons, or three *Paracletes*, let him be depos'd.

Chap. 5.

5. For not frequenting divine Service daily. To this purpose it is decreed by the first Council of *Toledo*, That if any Presbyter, Deacon, or Subdeacon, or other Clerk deputed to the Service of the Church, being in any Place where there is a Church, shall neglect to come to Church, and the daily Sacrifice, he shall be no longer accounted a Clerk, unless upon Admonition from the Bishop, he makes satisfaction, and obtain pardon for his Offences. And *Justinian* orders such Offenders to be degraded because of the Scandal they give to the Laity by such Neglect or Contempt of divine Service.

Can. 5.

God. Just. lib. 1, leg. 4.

6. For meddling and embarrassing himself with secular Offices: And therefore as this was an unnecessary Avocation from his own Employment and Hindrance to the proper Business of his Calling; so an *Apostolical Canon* enjoins, that no Bishop or Presbyter shall thrust himself into any publick Administrations or Employments, but keep himself always in a readiness for the Service of the Church. Let him therefore either incline his Mind not to do this, or let him be depos'd: For no Man can serve two Masters, according to what the Lord appointed.

Can. 81.

Can. 83.

7. For deserting their own Church without Licence to go to another: for as this was look'd on as a manifest Breach of good Order and Transgression of an useful Rule establish'd by many Injunctions over the Church universal; so the same Canons decree, That if any Presbyter, Deacon, or other Clerk forsake his own Diocese to go to another, and there continue without the consent of his own Bishop, such a one shall no longer continue to minister as a Clerk (especially if after Admonition he refuse to return) but only be admitted to communicate as a Layman. And if the Bishop, to whom such a one repairs, shall entertain them in the quality of a Clergyman,

Can. 15, 16.

Book XVII. man, he should be excommunicated as a Lover of Disorder.

Can. 4.

Conc. Chalc.  
Act. 4.

8. For officiating after the Condemnation of a Synod. If any Bishop (says the Council of *Antioch*) who is deposed by a Synod; or Presbyter or Deacon who is deposed by his own Bishop, presume to officiate in their Ministry, they shall have no hopes of being restor'd even by another Synod, nor any room left for Satisfaction: And all that communicate with them, shall be cast out of the Church, especially if they do it after they are apprized of the Sentence pronounced against them.

Lib. 9.

9. For appealing from the Censure of a Provincial Synod to foreign Churches; as was evident in the aforementioned Case of *Apianus* an *African* Presbyter, whom Pope *Zosimus* pretended to restore, determin'd first in the Council of *Milevis*, and confirmed afterwards by several Acts of their General Synods.

Can. 9.

10. For refusing to end Controversies before Bishops, and chusing rather to fly to secular Tribunals. So the Council of *Chalcedon* decreed, that if any Clergyman had a Controversy with another, he should not leave his own Bishop, and betake himself to a secular Court, but first have an hearing before his own Bishop, or such Arbitrators as the Parties should chuse with the Bishop's Approbation: Otherwise he should be liable to Canonical Censure, which in the *African* Church was the Loss of his Place, whether he were Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, or any other inferior Clerk, who declined the Sentence of an ecclesiastical Court in a criminal Cause, and betook himself to a secular Court for Justice. Or if it was a civil Cause, the third Council of *Carthage* determined that he should lose whatever Advantage he gain'd by the Action, because he despis'd the whole Church; in that he could not confide in any ecclesiastical Persons to be his Judges.

Can. 9.

Can. 68.

11. For being re-baptiz'd or re-ordain'd. As to Re-baptization, the *Apostolical Canons* appointed, that if any Bishop or Presbyter presumed to give

a second Baptism, after a true one once receiv'd, he should be degraded. And if a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, suffer'd himself to be so re-baptiz'd, the Council of *Rome* under *Felix III.* decreed that he should be degraded, and do penance all his Life, and only be admitted to Lay-Communion at the Hour of Death, because such had not only denied their Orders but their Christianity, and openly profess'd themselves Pagans by being re-baptiz'd. And as to Re-ordination, the *Apostolical Canons* say, If any Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon receive a second Ordination, both the Ordainer and the Ordained shall be deposed, except it appear that his first Ordination was given him by Hereticks; for they that are baptiz'd or ordained by Hereticks, are neither to be accounted Clergymen nor faithful Laymen.

12. For denying himself to be a Clergyman, or dissembling his Profession before a *Jew* or a Heathen, because that was but one degree below the Renunciation of his Religion. And therefore (say the same Canons) if any Clergyman, thro human fear of a *Jew*, or a Heathen, or a Heretick, deny the Name of *Christ*, let him be cast out of the Church: If he deny the Name of a Clergyman, let him be deposed, but on his Repentance let him be received as a Layman.

13. For publishing Apocryphal Books, or Books written by impious Men under false Titles, as sacred and pious Writings, to the Corruption and Seducement both of Laity and Clergy; and whoever was convict of publishing any thing of this Nature, was by the same Canons to be depos'd. *Tertullian* gives an Instance of the Exercise of this Discipline in this Case upon an *Asiatick* Presbyter, who under the feign'd Name of the Apostle *Paul* wrote a Book call'd, *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*, and was obliged to quit his Office for his Transgression.

14. For superstitious Abstinence from Flesh, Wine, &c. If any Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, or any other Clerk, according to the same *Apostolical Canons*, abstain from Marriage, Flesh,

or



Book XVII. or Wine, not for Exercise but Abhorrence, for getting that God made all things very good, and created Man Male and Female, and speaking evil of the Workmanship of God, unless he correct his Error, he shall be deposed and cast out of the Church; because, as another Canon expresses it, he has a fear'd Conscience, and is the Cause of Scandal to the People. And the same Error is condemned by other Councils.

Can. 53.

Conc. Anc. c. 14.

Brac. 1. c. 32.

Can. 63.

Conc. Gang. c. 2.

Aurel. 2. c. 20.

Trul. c. 67.

Contr. Faust. 1. 32.

15. For eating of Blood. From the *Apostolical Canons*, and those of *Gangra*, *Orleance*, and *Trullo*, all Clergymen were obliged to abstain from eating of Blood, under pain of Degradation; tho afterwards in *St. Austin's* time that Abstinence was of no force in the *African Church*.

16. For contemning the Fasts and Festivals of the Church. For as it was the Custom of the ancient Church to observe with great Strictness many stated Fasts and Festivals, so great Penalties were laid upon the Clergy who shew'd any disrespect to them by a wilful Contempt or Neglect of them. If any Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon, &c. (says one of the *Apostolical Canons*) observe not the *Lent-Fast*, he shall be deposed, unless he be hinder'd by bodily Weakness. The Council of *Gangra* goes farther, and denounces an Anathema to all the *Asceticks* of the Church, who, without any Plea of bodily Necessity, but mere Pride and Haughtiness, neglect and despise the Fasts commonly received in the Church, and observ'd by antient Tradition.

Can. 69.

Can. 19, 20.

17. For not observing the Rule about *Easter*. Tho great Liberty was allow'd before in this Matter, by reason of the Disputes between the *Roman* and *Asiatick* Churches about it; yet when once the great Council of *Nice* had interposed her Authority to end the Controversy, then all Churches were oblig'd to comply with that Determination: And therefore the Council of *Antioch* not long after made a very peremptory Decree, that whoever pertinaciously oppos'd the Rule agreed upon in the *Nicene Council*, should be excommunicated, and expelled the Church if he were a Layman.

Can. 1.

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And if either Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, should subvert the People, and disturb the Church, by keeping *Easter* in a different manner with the *Jews*, they should be removed from their Ministry, and be cast out of the Church; and whoever communicated with them after such Censure, should be liable to the same Condemnation.

18. For wearing an indecent Habit, unbecoming his Order and Station in the Church. The first Council of *Mafcon* enjoins, that if any Clergy-  
Can. 5.

man wore Arms, or a Soldier's Coat, or any Garments or Shoes unbecoming his Profession, he should be confined thirty Days in Prison, and fed only with Bread and Water for his Transgression: tho' it must be own'd, that in Cases of great Ex-

Theod. Oret. lib. 4. c. 13.

gency, or Times of Persecution, this Rule was superseded by one of a superior Obligation; the Preservation of the Faith and Ministry being reckon'd of greater Weight and Concern to the Church in such a Juncture, than the wearing of a Habit.

19. For keeping Hawks or Hounds, as was mention'd above, and following any unlawful Diversions. The Council of *Trullo* forbids Dice both to the Clergy and the Laity, under the Penalty of Deprivation to the one, and Excommunication to the other. The same Council forbids Clergymen to act Farces as Mimicks in the Theatre, or to bait or hunt wild Beasts with Dogs, or to dance upon the Stage, under the like Penalty of Deprivation. The Council of *Laodicea* forbids them to be present as Spectators at any Stage-plays. And the Council of *Carthage* thought it intolerable that any of the Clergy should encourage those Plays by their Presence, which a Layman could not see with Innocence, nor be a Spectator of without Censure.

Conc. Agath. c. 55.

Can. 50.

Can. 51.

Can. 54.

Conc. 3. c. 11.

20. For suspicious Cohabitation with strange Women. The Freedom which some vain and indiscreet People used, oblig'd the Church not only to forbid the Clergy to cohabit with such Women as they then termed Foreigners and Strangers, *varianis*, in opposition to Relatives of whom there

Book XVII. there could be no reasonable Suspicion; but also induc'd her to enforce this Rule with the utmost Severity of Discipline upon Delinquents. And therefore the second Council of *Arles* excommunicates every Clergyman, above the Order of Deacons, that retains any Woman as a Companion, except it be a near Relation. And the Council of *Lerida* orders them to be suspended from their Office till they amend their Fault after a first or second Admonition.

Can. 3.

Can. 15.

Conc. Neoc. c. 1.  
Elib. c. 33.  
Agath. c. 9.  
Carthag. 5. c. 3,  
&c.

21. For marrying after Ordination. Tho the Church did not reject married Men from Orders, nor oblige them afterwards to live separate from their Wives; yet some Canons in the Councils of *Neocasarea*, *Eliberis*, and others in the *Latin* Church, were more vigorous, and forbad Presbyters and Bishops to marry after Ordination, under pain of Deprivation. But as this was an Encroachment upon the primitive Rule, and never receiv'd in the *Greek* Church, so it is not to be reckoned among the standing Rules of Discipline that concerned the whole Church.

Conc. Neoc. c. 8.  
Can. 65.

22. For retaining an adulterous Wife. In case of Adultery, the Clergy were obliged to put away their Wives: For the Council of *Eliberis* decreed, that if a Clergyman's Wife commit Adultery, and the Husband know it, and does not immediately put her away, he shall not be admitted to Communion, even at his last Hour, lest they who should be an Example of good Conversation, should seem to teach others the way to sin.

Can. 64.

Nov. 6. c. 2.

23. For Non-residence. The Council of *Agde* decrees that a Presbyter or Deacon who was absent from his Church three Weeks, should be three Years suspended from the Communion. And by the Laws of *Justinian*, every Bishop absenting from his Church beyond a certain Term, and that upon very weighty Affairs, and great necessity, or the Will of the Prince, is order'd to be removed from the College of Bishops, as a Man unworthy of his Station. And the better to guard against this Offence, as no Clergyman was allow'd

to travel without the Licence and commendatory Letters of his Bishop, so neither might any Bishop travel, or appear at Court, without the Licence and Approbation of his Metropolitan.

24. For attempting to hold Preferment in two Dioceses. The Council of *Chalcedon* is very express to this purpose: It shall not be lawful for any Clergyman to have his Name in the Church Roll or Catalogue of two Cities at the same time. And if any is regularly removed from one Church to another, he shall not partake of the Revenues of the former Church, or of any Oratory, Hospital, or Alms-House belonging to it. And such as shall presume after this great and Oecumenical Council to transgress in this Matter, are condemned to be degraded by the Holy Synod. Can. 10.

25. For needless frequenting of publick Inns and Taverns. That the Clergy might cut off all Occasions of Obloquy, by avoiding all suspicious Actions, and all Appearances of Evil, they were forbid so much as to eat or appear in a publick Inn or Tavern, except they were upon a Journey, or some such necessary Occasion requir'd them to do it, under pain of Ecclesiastical Censure. The Council of *Laodicea*, and the third Council of *Carthage* universally prohibit all Orders of the Clergy resorting to a Tavern, except on extraordinary occasions; and the *Apostolical Canons* denounce to such as shall be found in one, an excommunication or Suspension from their Office. Can. 24.  
Can. 27.  
Can. 53.

26. For conversing familiarly with *Jews*, *Hereticks* and *Heathens*, because of the Scandal attending such Communication: Whence *Sozomen* tells us, that *Theodorus*, Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, excommunicated the two *Apollonarii*, the one being a *Presbyter*, and the other a *Deacon*, in the Church, for going to hear *Epiphanius* the *Sophist* speak a Hymn in praise of *Bacchus*. Lib. 6. c. 15.

27. For using over-rigorous Severity towards *Lapsers*. If any Bishop, *Presbyter*, or *Deacon*, (say the *Apostolical Canons*) receives not one that turns from Sin, but casts him out, let him be



Book XVII. deposed, because he grieves Christ, who said, *There is Joy in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth.* And forasmuch as this was not the true Exercise of Discipline, but Imperiousness, and Humour, and a mere domineering over God's Heritage by an exorbitant Stretch of the ministerial Power; so when any of the Clergy assumed to themselves this extravagant Power, the Church justly esteemed them infected with the *Novatian* Cruelty, (Hereticks who contended for it) and as such made them liable to the Sentence of Deprivation.

28. For want of Charity to indigent Clerks, As Charity obliges Men to do good to all as they have opportunity, but more especially to those who are of the Household of Faith; so if Clergymen, who were more especially obliged to assist those who were joined with them in the same Ministry, and united more closely by a stricter Bond of Fraternity in the same Occupation, were guilty of such want of Charity, they were censured by the *Apostolical Canons* in these very sharp terms: If any Bishop or Presbyter refuse to give Necessaries to any Clergyman that is in want, let him be cast out of Communion; and if he persist, let him be depos'd as a Murderer of his Brother.

Can. 59.

29. For judging in Cases of Blood. Tho the Laws allow'd the Clergy to be chosen Arbitrators of Mens Differences in Civil Causes, yet they had no power given them in Criminal, where Life and Death was concern'd. The fourth Council of *Toledo* says, Whoever of them sit Judges in such Matters, should be held guilty of Bloodshed before Christ, and lose their Order and Degree in the Church. And the eleventh Council of *Toledo* not only excludes such from the Honour of their Order and Station, but from all Communion during their whole Lives, which they are only to be allow'd at the point of Death.

Can. 30.

Can. 6.

These were the chief of those Rules of antient Discipline which concern'd the Clergy in general,

ral, and these the Crimes for which they were liable to Censure.

But besides these Rules of Discipline, there were some which had a more peculiar respect to the Persons of each particular Order. As to Bishops, they might be suspended or degraded for several Offences committed against the Rules of their Office and Duty peculiar to their Function. And here, not to mention again their wilful Transgression of the known Laws of Ordination which subjected them to such Punishment, 1. They were liable to be depos'd for neglecting to put the Laws in execution. Thus the Council of *Reme* under Pope *Felix*, decreed, That not only they who ordain'd those who were baptiz'd by Hereticks, were liable to be deposed; but also those Bishops who knowing them to be so ordain'd, did not remove them from their Office, by putting the Laws of Discipline in execution against them. In like manner, if a Bishop conniv'd at any Usurpation of an Office in a Presbyter or Deacon, he was liable to canonical Censure for his Tameness in not correcting that Presumption.

Felix, III. Ep. 1.

Gelas. ep. 9.

2. Bishops render'd themselves obnoxious to canonical Censure, if they made any Attempts to alter the Boundaries or Districts of the Church, settled by antient Law and Custom, without the Advice and Consent of a Provincial Synod. Thus one of the Councils of *Toledo* decreed, That if any one should offer to go against the Prescriptions of the Canons in procuring himself to be made a Bishop in those Places where there never was any Bishop before, let him be Anathema in the sight of God Almighty: And let moreover both the Ordainer and the Ordained lose the Degree of their Order, because they attempt not only to infringe the Decrees of the antient Fathers, but the Institutions of the Apostles. And the Council of *Chalcedon* denounces Deprivation against any one that should presume to address the higher Powers, in order to erect a new Metropolis in it.

a-Conc. Tol. 12

c. 4.

Can. 12

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Can. 12.

Conc. Tarracon.  
c. 6.

3. If Bishops refused or neglected to attend Provincial Councils without a reasonable Cause, they were liable to Suspension. To this purpose there is a Decree in the second Council of *Arles*, which is repeated by the Council of *Tarragone*, that if any one neglects to leave the Assembly of his Brethren before the Council be ended, he shall be excluded from the Communion of his Brethren, and not receiv'd again till he is absolv'd by the following Synod.

4. If any Bishop oppress'd any part of his People with hard Usage, unjust Demands, or unreasonable Exactions, he might be punish'd with the Loss of that part of his Diocese where such Oppression was complain'd of, as was peculiarly provided in this Case by the abovemention'd Laws of the *African Church*.

Can. 3.

Can. 16.

Lastly, If a Bishop countenanced or receiv'd any Clerk that deserted his own Diocese, the Council of *Antioch* leaves it in general to punish such an Offender; but the *Apostolical Canons* particularly enjoin that he should be suspended from his Office.

Conc. Antioch.

c. 10.

Conc. Sardic.

c. 20. Bracar. 1.

c. 37.

The *Chorepiscopi*, who next to the Bishop were ecclesiastical Persons, that officiated in certain episcopal Duties, were not only restrain'd in their Power, but if they acted beyond their Commission, or did any thing without consulting the City-Bishop, were liable by the Canons to lose their Office, and be degraded. If Presbyters at any time exceeded the Limits of their Commission and Order, by the Laws of the Church they were liable to be divested of their ordinary Power, and made subject to the Penalty of a total Deprivation.

Conc. Arelat. 2.

c. 15.

Can. 18.

And in like manner, if Deacons presumed ambitiously to thrust themselves into Offices and Privileges above their Station, they incurred the highest Censures, were liable to be suspended, or, as those Words in the Council of *Nice* seem rather to signify, *ἡ ἀρχιεπισκοπή τῆς διακονίας*, cease from their Ministry.

Thus,

## *Of the particular Crimes of Clergymen.*

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Chap. 5.

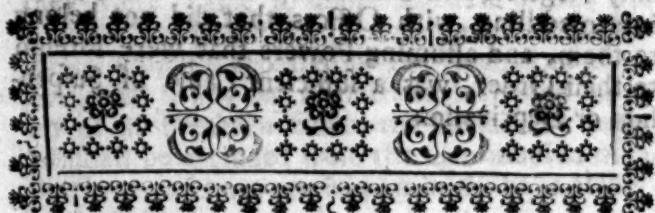
Thus, as every Order among the Clergy had their particular Offices assign'd them; so not only Neglects and Omissions of their Duty, but intermeddling with Offices that did not belong to them, and assuming Powers that were foreign to their Order, was a sufficient Cause of Suspension or Deprivation.

BOOK XVIII



Ec 3 BOOK





## B O O K XVIII.

*Of the various Orders of Penitents, and  
the Method of doing Publick Penance  
in the Church, by going thro the sever-  
al Stages of Repentance.*



### C H A P. I.

*Of the several Orders of Penitents in  
the Church.*



INCE in the performing of Pe-  
nance, to examine Mens Behaviour  
and Sincerity was antiently a Matter  
of considerable Length and Time, the  
Church was used to divide her Pe-  
nitents into several distinct Ranks  
or Classes. Of which there are allow'd to be  
four sorts, called by the *Greeks*, προσκλιδιοντες, α-  
κρωμένοι, υποπίπλοντες, and συνισαμένοι; and by the  
*Latins*,

## Of the several Orders of Penitents.

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Chap. I.

*Latins, Flentes, Audientes, Substrati, and Confis- tentes*, that is, the *Mourners, Hearers, Substra- tors, and Con-standers*. Some learned Men add another to their Number which they call *Communi- cantes*; but for this last Order there appears to be no manner of Ground, the Communicants be- ing every where distinguished from the Penitents by the other Names of *τελειοι, πιστοι, &c.* or the *Faithful and Perfect*, that is, Persons not under Discipline and publick Penance, which is an im- perfect State of Communion, but in the perfect, peaceable and full Communion of the Church.

Bellarmin. de Pen. lib. 1. c. 3.

How early this Distinction of Penitential Clas- ses was observed, is not very certain; but in the third and fourth Centuries we commonly find Penitents distinguish'd into those four Orders, and thus describ'd by St. Basil: The first Year they are to weep before the Gate of the Church; the se- cond Year to be admitted to hearing; the third Year to Genuflection, or Repentance properly so called; and the fourth Year to stand with the Faithful at Prayers, without partaking of the Oblation.

Bona de Reb. Li- tur. 1. 1.

Basil. c. 22.

The *Flentes*, or Mourners, were rather Can- didates of Penance, than Penitents strictly so called. Their Station was in the Church-porch; where, according to *Tertullian's* account, they were used to fall down at the Presbyters Feet, and kneel to the Friends of God, and intreat all the Brethren to recommend their Petition, and intercede with Heaven for them.

De Pen. 1. 9.

When their Petition was accepted, they were then admitted to Penance, or had liberty to pass thro the several Stages of Discipline, which the Church appointed for the Tryal and Probation of such as pretended real Sorrow for any notorious Offence, and the Scandal given by the Commission of it: and from that time they were termed *Audientes*, or *Hearers*, which was the second Order of Penitents, or rather the first of those that had any Privilege to enter the Church. For their Station was in the *Narthex*, or lowest part of the Church, where they were allow'd to stay

Book XVIII. and hear the Scriptures read, and the Sermon preached; but were obliged to depart before any of the Common Prayers began, with the rest of those, Catechumens and others, who went by the general Name of Hearers only. And in this Station Penitents were to continue a Year at least; but more if their Offence required it.

Conc. Nic. c.  
11, 12.

The third Order were the Kneelers or Prostrators. And these were allow'd to stay in the Church after the Hearers were dismissed, and hear the Prayers that were offer'd up particularly for them by all the People, and receive Imposition of Hands from the Bishop, who also made a particular Prayer for them. The Station of this sort of Penitents was within the Nave or Body of the Church, near to the *Ambon* or Reading Desk.

Conc. Laod. c.  
19.

Greg. Thaumaturg.  
can. 11.

The last Order of Penitents were called Co-standers, from their having liberty, after the Dismissal of the other Penitents, to stand with the Faithful at the Altar, and join in the common Prayers, and see the Oblations offer'd, tho' they were neither allow'd to make their own Oblations, nor partake of the Eucharist with them. And in this Station the Council of *Nice* tells us they were to continue for two Years for the Crime of Idolatry, after they had been three Years Hearers, and seven Years Prostrators before. And at length having gone over these several Stations of Penance, they were admitted to the Eucharist, and were then said, *ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον*, to attain to Perfection; the Participation of the Eucharist being the highest State or Consummation and Perfection of a Christian.

Can. 17.

Conc. Ancyran. c.  
4, 5, 6.





C H A P. II.

*Of the Ceremonies used in admitting Penitents to do publick Penance, and the Manner of performing it in the Church.*



O have an exact and clear Idea of the ancient Discipline of Penance, it will be necessary to consider both the Ceremony of Admission to the State of Penitents, together with the several Acts of Penance they performed during their Progress or Passage thro the several Stages of it, as also the Duration and Continuance of this Exercise. And here the first Ceremony that was used to a Penitent who desir'd to be admitted to do publick Penance after his Petition was accepted, was to grant him Penance by Imposition of Hands. And this was a Ceremony used almost in all religious Actions, when any Person was solemnly to be recommended to God in Prayer. There were many other Impositions of Hands given them daily when they came into the third Order of Penitents; but this was previous to their Admission, or rather the Form and Ceremony of it when they were first taken in to be Hearers in the Church. For this we have the plain Testimony of the Council of *Agde*, which orders that Penitents at the time when they desire to be admitted to do Penance, shall receive Imposition of Hands from the Bishop. Can. 15.

A second Rite or Custom of common use at their Admission, was, as appears likewise from the same Council, that Penitents should be cover'd in Sackcloth, as a Token of their great Sorrow and Indignation against themselves. Other Writers join Sackcloth and Ashes together: for



**Book XVIII.** so *Eusebius* describing the penitential Mien of *Natalis* the Confessor upon his Return from the *Theodosian* Hereticks to the Church, says, he came cloth'd in Sackcloth, and sprinkled with Ashes. *St. Ambrose* writing to a lapsed Virgin, tells her that she must macerate her Body, sprinkling it with Ashes, and covering it with Sackcloth. And *Tertullian*, discoursing of publick Penance, says, it obliges the Sinner to change both his Diet and his Habits, to mortify his Body, and lie in Sackcloth and Ashes.

*Ep. 30. Epitaph.*  
*Faliolæ.*

Nor were the greatest Personages exempted from this Ceremony. For *St. Jerom* says that *Faliola*, one of the greatest Ladies in *Rome*, stood in Sackcloth in the Order of Penitents in the *Lateran* Church to make publick Confession of her Fault in the sight of all the People of *Rome*. Whether the time of imposing Penance was confined to the Beginning of *Lent* is not certain, there being many Examples of Sinners being admitted to Penance whenever the Bishop thought them qualified for it: And therefore, to pass over the Circumstance of Time as unlimited and uncertain, all that can be concluded from antient Canons which speak of the Circumstances of Repentance, is, that at what time soever Penance was impos'd, the Sinner was obliged to change his Habit, and appear in a mournful Dress; nor to discontinue the Use of it, till, as the first Council of *Toledo* words it, he was absolved and reconciled to the Altar of God.

*Can. 2.*

Besides the change of their Habit, Penitents were also obliged to cut off their Hair, or shave their Heads if they were Men; and if Women, to wear a penitential Veil, and either to cut off their Hair, or appear with it hanging loose about their Shoulders, as a farther Indication of deep Sorrow and Affliction. The Councils of *Agde* and *Toledo* made a peremptory Order, that no Man should be admitted to do Penance till he had first poll'd himself. And the latter Council as expressly requires that no Woman should be admitted to Penance, except she was first veil'd, and had chang'd

*Conc. Agath.*  
*c. 15. Toler. 3.*  
*c. 12.*

chang'd her Habit. One cannot pass by the Seriousness, Gravity, and Concern this whole matter was transacted with, which *Socrates* thus represents in the Practice of the *Roman Church*: Not only the Penitents prostrated themselves upon the Ground with Lamentation and Wailing, but the Bishop with his Presbyters meeting them in their proper Station, fell to the Earth likewise with Tears, whilst all the Congregation wept with them. Then the Bishop rose up and rais'd the Penitents, and made the usual Prayers for them before the mystical Service began; and so dismiss'd them from the Church. And this was a very solemn way of performing Penance, that made a just impression upon the whole Church, whilst every Man was touch'd with a sense of his Brethren's Folly, and made their Sins, not matter of Sport or Ridicule, but an occasion of expressing his Pity and Compassion toward them, as Members of the same Body; weeping with those that wept, and joining his Prayers and Tears with theirs, to besiege Heaven with united Force, and obtain of God Mercy and Pardon for them.

*Socrar. lib. 7. cap. 16.*

Penitents were likewise used to abstain from Bathing and other innocent Diversions of Life. *Socrates* says, they exercis'd themselves willingly in private with Fastings, and neglect of Bathing, and abstinence from Meats, as long as the Bishop thought fit to enjoin them. And *Pacian* brings in a Penitent, declaring that Baths and Feasts belong to the Happy, but as for him he had sin'd against the Lord, and was in danger of eternal Destruction.

*Parzenis ad poenit. Bibl. Pat. Tom. 3.*

They were tied up also to the strictest observance of all the publick Fasts of the Church; the 4th Council of *Carthage* having decreed that Penitents should present themselves at Church on all times of Fasting, and receive imposition of Hands from the Priests.

*Can. 80.*

Besides the former Injunctions to Penitents, some private Writers restrain them the use of the Conjugal State. *St. Jerom* lays it down as a Rule, that in the time of Fasting the Bridegroom and

*Hieron. in Joel. cap. 2.*

Bride

## Book XVIII.



Amb. de pœnit.  
lib. 2. c. 10.

Can. 22.

Can. 21.

Conc. Carthag. 4.  
c. 82.

Bride should sequester themselves from one another, and that to make a Fast holy and pure, the Man should add Continence to his Repentance. Does any one (says St. *Ambrose*) think that to be Repentance where a Man is engag'd in an ambitious pursuit of Honour, or indulges himself in the use of Wine and the Marriage-Bed? Men must renounce the World, abridge themselves of Sleep which Nature requires, intreat the favour of God with sighing and mourning and earnest Prayers, and live so as to die to the use of this Life, and deny themselves, and become wholly new Men. Whether this Restraint was impos'd by any publick Rule of the Church is very uncertain; but the Order in the 2d Council of *Arles*, that Penance should not be granted to any married People, Man or Women without the Consent of both Parties, gives us room to think they were under Obligations to contain during the time of their Penance: However if the innocent Party would not consent, no Force or Compulsion could be laid upon them, the Laws of Matrimony being prior to any Rules that could be made about the exercise of publick Discipline by the Church.

By another Rule of the same Council proceeding upon the like Reason and Supposition of perfect Continency in publick Penitents, no Penitent Man or Woman could have liberty to marry in the time of their Penance; and if they did, they should be rejected and debar'd even from entering under the Roof of the Church. Or if they held any suspicious Conversation, or unlawful Familiarity with Strangers in this state, they were liable to the same Censure, as acting inconsistently with the Profession of a solemn and deep Repentance.

They were likewise excepted from the privilege of standing at Prayers on Festivals; being oblig'd to pray kneeling every day, because every Day was a day of Humiliation to them, and their business in the Church was only to sue for Mercy, and to prostrate themselves to receive the solemn Imposi-

Imposition of Hands and Benediction, for which kneeling was thought the most decent Posture.

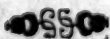
And because Mercy and Liberality to the Poor was a great Argument and Evidence of Repentance; this also was exacted of Penitents in an eminent degree. St. Cyprian puts this among the other Indications of Repentance, advising them to put on the Ornament of Christ that they might not appear naked before him. 'Can we think, saith he, that that Man laments with his whole Heart, and deprecates the Lord with fasting, weeping and mourning, who from the moment of his sinning daily frequents the Baths, who feeds himself with luxurious Feasting, and fills his Belly to an extraordinary pitch, only to belch forth his Crudities the day after, who imparts not his Meat and Drink to the necessities of the Poor? How doth he bewail his own Death, who walks about with a merry Countenance, who trims his Beard, and attires his Face? Doth he think to please Men who displeases God? Doth that Woman lament and mourn who is at leisure to put on her costly clothing, and never thinks of the Garment of Christ which she hath lost?'

De Lapis p. 135.

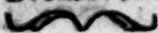
Finally, in some Churches the Penitents were oblig'd by way of Discipline and Exercise of Humility and Charity to take upon them the Office and Care of burying the Dead. In the *African* Churches particularly, where there might be no standing Officer for that purpose, the 4th Council of *Carthage* directs that the Penitents should bear out the dead to the Church, and take Care of their Burial.

Can. 31.

These are some of those wholesome and salutary Exercises with which the antient Church disciplin'd her Penitents.







## C H A P. III.

*A particular Account of the Exomologesis, or Confession used in the Discipline of the antient Church; shewing it to be a different thing from the private or Auricular Confession introduc'd by the Church of Rome.*

**T**HE eminent Act of Penance belonging to the 3d Order more emphatically call'd Penitents, was the *Exomologesis* or Confession, which the Polemical Writers of the *Romish* Church, whenever they meet with it in any of the Antients, interpret private or *Auricular* Confession, such as is now practis'd in the Communion of that Church, and impos'd upon Men as absolutely necessary to Salvation: whereas others among themselves scruple not to own that the *Exomologesis* of the Antients signifies the whole exercise of a publick Penance, of which publick Confession was a noted part. *Albaspineus* very strenuously sets himself to refute this Error in the Writers of his own Party, telling us, that the Fathers always used this word when they would describe the external Rites of Penance, *viz.* Weeping and Mourning and Self-Accusation, and other the like things which Penitents usually practis'd in the course of publick Penance. And this he proves and confirms from many irrefragable Testimonies out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and other antient Writers; which shew that Confession consisted not so much in Words as Actions, expressing their Repentance in publick Demonstrations of Sorrow, and the uniform Tenor of a penitent Beha-

Observat. lib. 2.  
cap. 26.

Behaviour ; and that this would better evidence their Conversion than the most patheticall Words of any private Confession. *Tertullian* has a Passage very apposite to the present purpose. The *Exomologesis*, says he, is the Discipline of a Man's prostrating and humbling himself, injoining him a Conversation that moves God to Mercy and Compassion. It obliges a Man to change his Habit and Diet, to lie in Sackcloth and Ashes, to mortify his Body by a neglect of Dress or Ornament, to afflict his Soul with Sorrow, and to change his former sinful Conversation by a quite contrary practice ; to use Meat and Drink not to please his Appetite, but only for preservation of Life ; to quicken his Prayers and Devotions by frequent Fastings ; to groan and weep, and cry unto the Lord God both Day and Night ; to prostrate himself before the Presbyters of the Church, to kneel before the Friends of God, and beg of all the Brethren that they would become Intercessors for his Pardon.

Besides this there is very plain Evidence from the Testimony of the Antients, that no necessity was laid upon any Man to make private Confession of his Sins to a Priest, as a matter of indispensable Obligation, either to qualify him for the reception of the Eucharist, or to give him a Title to the Communion of the Church and eternal Life. *St. Chrysostom* exhorting Men to Repentance, says, I bid thee not to bring thy self upon the Stage, nor to accuse thy self unto others : But I advise thee to observe the Prophet's Direction, Reveal thy way unto the Lord, confess thy Sins before God the Judge ; praying if not with thy Tongue, yet at least with thy Memory, and so look to obtain Mercy, &c. In another place, he says, It is not necessary that thou shouldest confess in the presence of Witnesses, let God only see thee confessing. Again, I beseech you make your Confession continually to God ; for I do not bring thee into the Theatre of thy Fellow-Servants, neither do I constrain thee by any necessity to discover thy Sins unto Men ; unfold thy

Con-

Hom. 31. in  
Hebr. P. 1956.

Hom. de pœnit.  
Tom. 5. Edit.  
Lat.

Hom. 30.

## Book XVIII.

De Confess. au-  
ric. l. 4. c. 25.

Basil, in Psal. 37.  
8.

In Psal. 51. p.  
203.

Lib. 10. in Luc.  
22.

Aug. Confess.  
lib. 10. c. 3.

De vira contem-  
plar. lib. 2. c. 7.

Conscience before God, and shew him thy Wounds, and ask the Cure of him, &c. And many other Passages are there in the same Author, very full and pregnant to the same purpose; all which Mr. *Daille* has vindicated from the sophistical Glosses and Evasions of the Romanists in his excellent Book of *Auricular Confession*. St. *Basil* is of the same Opinion, and says, I do not make Confession with my Lips to appear to the World, but inwardly in my Heart where no Eye sees. I declare my Groanings unto thee alone who seeest in Secret, I roar within my self: For I need not many words to make Confession; the Groanings of my Heart are sufficient for Confession, and the Lamentations which are sent up to thee, my God, from the bottom of my Soul. St. *Hilary* in like manner makes Confession necessary to be made to God only. For in his Comment on the 52d Psalm, he says, *David* teaches us that Confession is necessary to be made to none but God, who hath made the Olive fruitful with the hope of Mercy for ever. St. *Ambrose* as plainly says, that Tears pour'd out before God are sufficient to obtain Pardon of Sin without Confession made to Man. St. *Austin* speaks of Confession as no ways necessary to be made to Man: What, says he, have I to do with Men that they should hear my Confessions as tho they could heal all my desires? And *Prosper*, his Scholar, speaking of private Sins committed by the Clergy, says, they shall more easily appease God, who being not convict by human Judgment, do of their own accord acknowledge their Offence; who either do discover it by their own Confessions, or else others not knowing what they are in secret, do voluntarily inflict the Sentence of Excommunication upon themselves; and being separated (not in Mind but Office) from the Altar to which they did minister, do lament their Life as dead; assuring themselves that God being reconcil'd to them by the fruits of effectual Repentance, they shall not only receive what they have lost, but also being made Citizens of that City which

which is above, they shall come to everlasting Joys. And *Cassian* assures us that this was the Doctrine of the *Egyptian* Fathers.

Collat. 20. c. 8.

All which are plain Testimonies evidently shewing that the Antients did not believe the necessity of *Auricular Confession*, or urge it as a thing absolutely necessary to Absolution and Salvation.

And this may be farther proved from the Practice of the Antients in denying all manner of Absolution to some relapsing Sinners, and yet exhorting them to make private Confession of their Sins to God, in hopes of obtaining Mercy and Pardon from him at the great Day of Retribution.

'Tis confess'd on all hands that many Relapsers never had the Privilege to make their publick Confession in the Church, in order to obtain publick Absolution: And it is as certain they were not admitted to compound by any private sacerdotal Confession, to obtain private sacerdotal Absolution. If then it be granted, that the Antients allow'd Relapsers neither the benefit of publick nor private Absolution on any Confession whatsoever; it evidently follows that they did not believe any absolute necessity of *Auricular Confession*, since they encourag'd such Sinners notwithstanding to hope for Mercy and Pardon upon private Repentance and Confession made to God only. For the Proof of which, one Passage of *St. Austin* will be sufficient, where he speaks the general Practice of the Church, and the Sense of all his Brethren: The Iniquity of Men, says he, sometimes proceeds so far, that after they have done publick Penance, after they have been reconcil'd to the Altar, they commit the same or greater Sins; and yet God makes his Sun to rise even upon such, and bestows upon them no less than before the greatest Gifts of Life and Salvation. And tho there be no place allow'd to such in the Church to perform that humble sort of Penance again, yet God doth not forget his Patience toward them, &c. And again, Tho it be a cautious and salutary Provision in the Ecclesiastical Law, that this place of the humblest Penance shall not

Perav. Not. in  
Epiphan. p. 238.

Aug. Ep. 54. ad  
Maced. p. 92.



Book XVIII. be granted above once in the Church, lest by making the Medicine too vile and cheap, it should become less useful to those that are Sick, being so much the more beneficial, by how much it is less contemptible: yet who dares say to God, why dost thou spare this Man, who after his first Penance binds himself again in the Bonds of Iniquity? Who dares say that God deals not with them according to that saying of the Apostle, *Knowest thou not that the long-suffering of God leadeth thee to Repentance?* Or that they are excepted from that general Declaration, *Blessed are all they that put their Trust in him?* From this Passage we see that Men were directed to seek Pardon from God by the exercise of a private Repentance, without the use of either publick or private Confession; which certainly would have been new prescrib'd, if any such necessity had been laid upon it, as is now taught by the imperious and dictating Authority of the Church of Rome.

Chap. 5. 16.

But after all that can be said as to this matter, yet it cannot be denied but that private Confession was allow'd and encourag'd by the Antients in some Cases, and upon some special Occasions. As 1st. Men were advised in case of lesser Sins, to make Confession mutually to one another, that they might have each others Prayers and Assistance. This is the Advice of St. James, *Confess your Faults one to another, and pray one for another that ye may be healed: The effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much.* Which Place, tho produc'd by the Romanists, for their auricular Confession, was yet in the opinion of many Antients and Moderns thought no more than a direction to Christians in general to confess their Sins mutually to one another. Thus St. Austin understood it, who writing on those words of our Saviour in St. John, *If I your Lord and Master have wash'd your Feet, ye ought also to wash one anothers Feet,* thus expounds them and the words of St. James together: Can we say that one Brother may cleanse another from the Contagion of Sin? Yes, we are taught to do it by

Tract. 58. in  
Joan. T. 9. P.  
164.

by the mystical meaning of this Work of our Lord, that we should confess our Sins one to another, and pray one for another, as Christ intercedes for us. Let us hear St. James the Apostle evidently commanding this very thing, and saying, *Confess your Faults one to another, and pray one for another*, because in this our Lord hath set us an Example. For if he who neither has, nor ever had, nor ever will have any Sin, prays for our Sins, how much rather ought we to pray for the Sins of one another? And if he forgive us, who hath nothing to be forgiven by us, how much more ought we to forgive one another who cannot live here without Sin? Let us therefore forgive one another, and pray for each others Sins, that so we may in some measure wash one anothers Feet. *Hincmar*, a Learned French Bishop of the 9th Age, gives the same Interpretation of St. James. Our light and daily Sins, says he, according to the Exhortation of St. James, are daily to be confess'd to those that are our Equals; and such Sins we may believe will be cleans'd by their daily Prayers, and our own Acts of Piety, if with a charitable Mind we truly say in the Lord's Prayer, *Forgive us our Trespases as we forgive them that trespass against us.*

Epist. ad Hildeb.  
T. 2, 11, 40.

2. In Case of private Injuries done to any private Person, Men were oblig'd to confess to, and ask Pardon of, the offended Party; for so had Christ appointed: *If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there rememberest that thy Brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy way, first be reconcil'd to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift.* Upon which St. Austin says, A Man may with an unfeigned Heart endeavour to pacify and appease him by asking him Pardon, if he doth this before God. Nay, it is his only Remedy in this Case to ask Pardon, which whoever doth not is puffed up with the Spirit of vain Glory.

Mat. 5. 23.

De Serm. Dom.  
in Monte. lib. 1  
c. 10.

3. When Men were under any perplexities of Mind, or troubles of Conscience from the pressure

**Book XVIII.** and load of Sin, they were advis'd to make private Confession to some wise and prudent Minister, to take his Counsel, Assistance and Prayers; as a sort of Mediator and Intercessor under Christ for them. Thus *Clem. Romanus* bids every one into whose Heart either Envy or Infidelity or any such Crime has slyly crept, not be ashamed (if he hath any Care of his Soul) to confess his Sins to the Bishop or Minister presiding over him, that by the Word of God and his saving Counsel he may be healed. And the same Advice is given by *Origen*, *Gregory Nyssen* and *St. Basil* upon the like occasion, to confess their Sins to the Priest, who by his Compassion and Skillfulness was able to help their Infirmities, and at once take care both of their Credit and Cure.

*Nyssen de pœnit.*  
*T. 3. Basil. Regul. Brev. Resp.*  
229.

*Hom. 2. in Psal.*  
37. T. 1. P. 471.

*Cyp. de Laps.*  
P. 134.

*Leo. Ep. 80. ad*  
*Episc. Camp.*

4. Another Reason for confessing private Sins to a Priest was, according to *Origen*, to have his Advice whether it was proper to do publick Penitence for them. For it was no unusual practice in those days, for Men sometimes to desire to do publick Penitence for private Offences, yea, even for the very intention and design of some grosser Sins, tho they never proceeded so far as the outward Action; and therefore that Writer advises that Men have recourse to a skilful, prudent and merciful Physician of the Soul, as to one who is best able to judge whether their Sin were of such a nature as would require a publick Humiliation and Repentance. But because these private Sins after secret Confession were sometimes publicly declar'd and read out of a Libel in the Congregation, that Custom was afterwards abrogated and laid aside, lest many should be driven from the remedy of Repentance that way; whilst either they are ashamed or afraid to have their Actions laid open before their Enemies, who perhaps might take occasion from thence to bring them into danger of the Civil Laws, and the Penalties impos'd by them upon such Offences. For we may observe,

5. That when there was any apparent danger to Men's Lives, arising from the Laws of the State

State inflicting capital Punishments on certain Offences, the Church in such a Case was content to take a private Confession of Sinners, and excuse them from a dangerous Publication. 'Tis of this Case St. *Austin* speaks when he says, We ought to correct secret Sins in secret, lest if we publicly reprove them we betray the Man. We would reprove and correct him; but what if an Enemy lies upon the catch to hear something for which he may punish him? A Bishop, put the Case, perhaps knows a Man to be a Murderer, and besides himself no one knows it: I would publicly rebuke the Man, but then you would seek to take the Law upon him: In this Case I neither betray the Man nor neglect him, I reprove him in secret, I set before his Eyes the Judgment of God, I terrify his bloody Conscience, and persuade him to Repentance. In like manner, if a Woman confess'd her self guilty of Adultery, (as St. *Basil* instances in such a Case) tho the Law allow'd not the Husband to kill her, except he took her in the very Act, yet lest in his Fury he might be tempted even against Law to kill her, if he should know that she had been guilty of such Transgression, therefore it was thought more proper to let the Confession and Penance be both in private, lest any such Mischief should follow upon the Publication; and it was order'd that no Minister should *δημιουργῆσαι*, publish the Crime of Women under Penance of Adultery upon their own Confession, lest it should occasion their Death.

Serm. 16. de  
Verb. Dom. c. 2.

Can. 34.

There was one Case more in which private Confession was requir'd, and that was when any Man was rebuk'd for a Crime by his spiritual Guide, of which he was either notoriously guilty, or violently suspected: In that Case it was his Duty to give Glory to God, and take Shame to himself, by an ingenuous Confession and Acknowledgment of his Fault, to answer the true end of private Admonition. 'Tis of this sort of Confession St. *Ambrose* speaks in the Person of *David*, when he says, that being rebuk'd by a private Man for his great Offence, he did not fret and fume with In-

Amb. de Apol.  
David. c. 2.

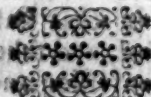


Book XVIII. indignation, but ingenuously confess his Fault, and mourn with Sorrow for it.

All these sorts of private Confession were anti-  
 ently allow'd of, as consistent with the standing  
 and ordinary Discipline of publick Confession and  
 Penance in the Church. And the better to regu-  
 late them, and direct Men what to do in such  
 Cases, there was a particular Officer appointed in  
 many Churches under the name of ὁ ἐν τῇ μετὰ τοὺς  
 ἁγίους, or the Penitentiary Priest; whose  
 Office was not set up to encourage *Auricular*  
*Confession* in prejudice to the publick Discipline,  
 but chiefly to promote the exercise of publick  
 Penance in the Church. But tho this Office was  
 instituted by the Wisdom of the Church for good  
 Ends, yet when those Ends could be no longer  
 serv'd by it, she was then at Liberty by the same  
 Wisdom to abolish it and put it down again; as

Soc. lib. 5. c. 19. *Nectarius* did in the East on account of the great  
 Scandal and Reproach brought upon the Clergy by  
 a Deacon's Incontinency, that being then thought  
 the only way to free the Church from Reproach.

Soc. lib. 7. c. 16. *Nectarius's* Example was for the same Reason fol-  
 low'd by almost all the Bishops of the East, and  
 these Penitentiary Presbyters were every where  
 remov'd; but yet publick Discipline still continued  
 in force in their Churches, tho perhaps somewhat  
 weakened in respect of private Offenders, partly  
 because Men were not so much inclin'd to confess,  
 and partly because the business of Discipline now  
 devolving wholly upon the Bishops, as it was be-  
 fore, they had not leisure to attend it.



CHAP.



C H A P. IV.

Of the great Rigour, Strictness, and Severity of the Discipline and Penance of the antient Church.



**I**N the exercise of the antient publick Penance, 'tis necessary that we consider the great Strictness and Severity of it, express'd against all Sins that fell under publick Discipline, and more especially those that were of a more heinous and malignant Nature. One instance of this Severity was, that Men were ordinarily admitted but once to the Privilege of publick Penance, and that the Church allow'd no second Penance to be perform'd by any sort of Relapsers. *Hermes Pastor* says, that the Servants of God allow'd but of once doing Penance, and therefore he advises the Husband who has an adulterous Wife to receive her once upon her Repentance but not oftner. *Clemens Alexandrinus* treads in the same steps, allowing but one Repentance after Baptism. *Tertullian* allow'd one Penance after Baptism, which he calls the second, making the Repentance of Baptism to be the first. It is a second Penance, says he, and but one, which requires so much the more laborious Exercise and Trial, because it is a thing allow'd us in our greatest Exigency and Distress. In like manner *Origen* speaking of the difference between greater and lesser Sins, says, The former had no place of Repentance allow'd them but only once or very seldom; whereas those common Sins we fall into almost every day, always admit of Repentance, and are redeem'd immediately without Intermision. And there are several Canons in the Council of *Eliberis*

Lib. 2. Man-jat. 4. n. 1.

Stromat. 2. c. 13.

De penit. c. 7.

Ibid. c. 9.

Hom. 15. in Levit. T. 1. p. 174.

Can. 3, 7, 47.

Book XVIII.



Amb. de pœnit.  
lib. 2. c. 10.

Aug. Ep. 54. Si-  
ric. Ep. 1. ad  
Hincm. Cœnc.  
Arelat. Veneric.  
Aurel. &c.

Can. 17.

to the same purpose, that Relapsers should not be admitted to Communion by the benefit of a second Repentance. And this Discipline continued to be the practice of the 4th and 5th Ages, for St. *Ambrose* and St. *Austin* speak of it as in use in their time. And *Siricius* decreed in favour of it in the *Roman Church*: and several Councils enjoin'd that such Relapsers should be either wholly cast out of the Church, or at least kept back from the Communion all their days, without being admitted to the benefit of a former Penance to restore them. And when the contrary Custom began to creep into some of the *Spanish Churches*, a strict Order was made to correct it by reviving the antient Discipline of the Church. We hear, says the 3d Council of *Toledo*, that in some of the *Spanish Churches* Penance is not done according to Canon, but after a very base Fashion, that as often as Men are pleas'd to sin, so often they require of the Presbyters to be reconcil'd or absolv'd: to restrain which execrable Presumption, the Holy Synod appoints that Penance shall be granted only according to the form of the antient Canons; and if any, either during the time of their Penance, or after their Reconciliation, relapse into their old Vices, they shall be condemn'd according to the Severity of former Canons, that is, they shall not have Liberty of repeating publick Penance *toties quoties* in the Church.

Another instance of the great Strictness and Severity of the antient Discipline was, that for some certain Sins Men were kept under the exercise of publick Penance all their Lives, and only absolv'd and reconcil'd at the point of Death. The ordinary course of Penance often held Men ten Years, and sometimes more, in going through the several Stages of Repentance; but for Crimes of a more heinous nature, no certain term of Years was limited but their Lives, and perfect Reconciliation and Absolution was only granted them at their last Hour, when imminent danger of Death was upon them. Thus the Council of

*Eliberis*

*Eliberis* order'd, that if any consecrated Virgin committed Fornication, she should do Penance all the time of her Life, and only have the Communion at the Hour of Death. And the Council of *Valence* in *France* laid the same penalty upon such as fell into Idolatry, that they should do penance to the Hour of Death, yet not without hopes of Remission, which they were to expect more fully from God who was the Donor of it. And the Councils of *Arles*, *Ancyra*, and *Lexida* enjoin the same for other Crimes.

Chap. 4.

Can. 3.

Can. 3.

Another Instance of the Strictness and Severity of the antient Discipline, is visible in the Treatment of such Penitents as were reconciled upon a Death-Bed. For tho they were admitted to the Peace and Communion of the Church, when they were in extreme danger of Death, that they might have their *Viaticum* when they were about to leave the World; yet if they chanced to recover, they were obliged to perform the whole Penance, more or less, whatever it was which they should have done, had not such an Exigency procured them an Absolution. The Council of *Nice* orders such upon their Recovery to be placed among the Co-standers, or fourth Rank of Penitents, where they might stay to hear the Prayers of the Faithful, but not partake of the Oblation. The fourth Council of *Carthage* has two Canons relating to them; but the whole Matter is more particularly explain'd by the first Council of *Orange* in this Form, They who are about to leave the Body when they are doing Penance, may communicate without the reconciliatory Imposition of Hands; which sort of Communion is sufficient for the Consolation of a dying Person, according to the Decrees of the Fathers, who call this kind of Communion their *Viaticum*. But if they survive, they shall stand in the Order of Penitents, that they may first shew forth the necessary Fruits of Repentance, and then be received to Communion in the ordinary and regular way, by the reconciliatory Imposition of Hands. The Council of *Epone* speaks much after the same manner, as doth

Can. 13.

Can. 76, 78.

Can. 3.

Can. 36.

also



Book XVIII. also *Gregory Nyssen's* Canon, and the Decree of the *Roman* Council under *Felix III.*

*Nyff. Ep. ad Le-*  
*toin. c. 5.*  
*Can. 4.*

But some Sinners were yet more severely handled, being denied Communion to the very last, and suffer'd to go out of the World without any manner of Reconciliation. And this Discipline was generally us'd at first toward the three great Sins of Idolatry, Adultery and Murder; and tho it abated by general Agreement toward Penitents

*Ep. 55. ad Antro-*  
*nian. p. 110, 111.*

in *Cyprian's* time, yet Communion was still denied to the very last to such Apostates as persisted obstinate and impenitent all their Lives, and only desired Reconciliation when the Pangs of Death were upon them. For they, says that Writer, who do no Penance, nor ever testify any Sorrow for their Sin from their Heart by manifest Professions of Lamentation, tho they begin to deprecate and sue for Pardon when Infirmary and the Danger of Death is upon them, such we think fit to debar absolutely from all Hopes of Communion and Peace; because it is not Repentance for their Sins, but only the Apprehension and Terror of Death approaching that compels them to ask pardon: and he is not worthy to receive Consolation at his Death, who would not before-hand consider that he must shortly die. And this Rule concerning Apostates was some time after renew'd by the first Council of *Arles*, and a Decree pass'd to the same purpose. *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome* says, this was the primitive Custom for the three first Ages of Christianity; which was abundantly confirmed by the Council of *Eliberis*, there being at least twenty Canons in that Council which deny Communion to the very last to several sorts of Sinners, whose Crimes were either doubled and tripled, or single Crimes of a more flagrant Scandal and heinous Provocation.

*Can. 23.*  
*Ep. 3. ad Eruper.*  
*c. 2.*

*Can. 1, 2, 3, 6,*  
*7, 8, &c.*

But later Councils are not so stiff in requiring the Execution of the antient Canons in this particular; they abated of this Rigour, being sensible that the Church had liberty of extending or contracting her Censures as she judg'd most expedient for the Ends of Discipline, or the Benefit and

and Edification of the Sinner; and therefore charitably allow'd every Penitent Communion at the last Hour. The Canons are very numerous upon this Head. The Council of *Agde* (to name no more) speaks in general Terms without Exception; No Penitents are to be denied their *Vaticum*, or Provision for their Journey, at the point of Death. And *Synesius* tells us that he never let any one go out of the World bound with the Bonds of Anathema, if they desired Absolution; only if they recover'd, he reserved them to the Disposition of his Metropolitan of *Alexandria*. But at the same time they allow'd Penitents the Privilege of Communion at the time of Death, yet they would not undertake to assure them what Effect an Absolution in such Extremity would have before God. 'If a Man, says an antient Homily, repents at his last Hour, and is reconciled, and so dies, I am not sure that this Man goes hence securely; I can admit him to Penance, but I can give him no Security. Do I say he shall be damned? I do not say it: but neither do I say he shall be saved. What then do I say? I know not, I presume not, I promise not; for I know not the Will of God. Would you free yourself from all doubt, and avoid that which is uncertain? Repent whilst you are in Health, and you will be secure when your last Day finds you, because you repent in a time when you had Power to sin; but if you then only begin to repent when you can sin no longer, it is not so much you that forsake your Sins, as your Sins that forsake you.'

To render this Discipline more rigorous or easy, great Latitude and Liberty were allow'd to the prime Ministers of it, the Bishops, who had power to add to, or abate something in the Measures of it. For which purpose, tho the general Custom was to allow Sinners to do publick Penance but once in the Church, yet there are Instances where Bishops granted this Privilege oftner. To pass by our Observations of the Hereticks, *Cerdon*, *Valentinus*, and *Marcion*, who, we are told, made Confession

Book XVIII. session of their Heresies more than once, that is, doing Penances for them by publick Recantation: *St. Chrysostom* says in his Homilies, that tho a Synod of Bishops had decreed that Lapsed should only be admitted once to do publick Penance, yet if occasion required, they should do it a thousand times, and be received to Communion. And in a Council held at *Constantinople*, Ann. 426. it was decreed, that the *Massalian* Hereticks only should no more be admitted to do Penance, because they had so often abused that Privilege.

Phot. Bib. Cod.  
52.

Can. 12.

Conc. Ancyra, c. 5.  
Hierd. c. 5.  
Chalc. c. 16.

Basil, c. 74.  
Hom. 14. in 2  
Cor. p. 846.

Ep. 2. ad Eleuth.  
§. 3.

Bishops had also Power granted them to moderate the Term of Penance upon just occasion. The Council of *Nice* determin'd, that if any Penitents were more than ordinarily diligent in expressing their Concern and Tears, and bringing forth good Works, the true Fruits of Repentance, it should be in the Bishop's power, ἀνθρωπότερον τι ποιῆν αὐτῶν ἐλευσάδει, to deal more gently and mildly with them, and bring them to communicate in Prayers sooner than the usual time. The Councils of *Ancyra*, *Lerida* and *Chalcedon* leave it entirely in the hands of every Bishop in his respective Church, ἢ φιλανθρωπεύειν, ἢ πλείονα προσβίνειν χρόνον, either to shorten the Penance of the truly Contrite, or to add to that of the more Negligent, according to his Discretion. Of the same mind was *St. Basil* and *St. Chrysostom*; the latter of whom, in answer to some who complained of the Length of Penance, says, I require not the Continuance of time, but the Correction of the Soul. Demonstrate your Contrition, demonstrate your Reformation, and all is done.

And this was the true antient Notion of an Indulgence, as is evident from Pope *Vigilius*, who, in an Epistle of his to another Bishop, tells him, that it was left to his own Judgment, and the Judgment of other Bishops in their respective Diocesses, if they approved the Quality and Devotion of any Penitents, to grant them the Benefit of an Indulgence, that is, a Relaxation of their penitential Exercises, or a speedier Admission to Communion. So vastly different is this from the Indulgencies of the

the

the present *Romish* Church, or their pretended Power of delivering Souls from the Pains of Purgatory, by virtue of a Stock of Merits, or Works of Supererogation, dispensed solely by the Pope.

And these antient Indulgences of moderating Canonical Punishments, lodged in the Bishop's Power, who sometimes granted them at the Intercession of Martyrs in Prison, and sometimes at the Application of the Civil Magistrate, had no respect to the Punishments of the next World, but only to the Mitigation of Ecclesiastical Punishment in this; as is ingenuously acknowledged by *Cassander*, *Polydore Virgil*, and other learned Men of the *Romish* Church. Bishops had also power to grant Indulgence, not only by contracting the Term of Penance, but in some measure by altering or lessening the Nature and Quality of the Punishment it self. For in the Council of *Ancyra*, concerning Deacons who had lapsed into Idolatry, but afterwards recovering, stood firm in a second Engagement, it is order'd that tho they were not allow'd the Exercise of any part of their sacred Office, yet if Bishops should find them to be very diligent, humble, and meek, they had power to grant them more or less of their Office, as they judg'd convenient.

There are one or two Phrases that occur frequently in antient Writings relating to Discipline, the Explication whereof shall conclude this Subject. The first is the Performance of *Penitentia legitima, plena & justa*, a legal, full, and just Penance. The Meaning of which Phrase cannot so much respect the time of Penance, or Order of Penitents, as it does the Mind and Qualifications of Men acting sincerely in their Repentance, and expressing their hearty Sorrow for Sin by Weeping, and Mourning, and Fasting, and Alms-deeds, and Charity, and an entire Reformation; these being such proper Indications of a penitent Mind, as might incline the Bishop to shew them some Favour and Indulgence by shortning the time of their Penance. The other Phrase is, *Inter Hyemantes orare*, or praying among the *Hyemantes*,

Aug. Ep. 54. ad Maced. p. 93.

Cass. Consult. Act. 12. p. 103. Pol. Vir. de Invent. Rerum, l. 8. c. 1.

Can. 2.

Conc. Elib. c. 5. s. 24. Albaspin. Obser. l. 2. c. 30.

Conc. Ancyra, c. 17.

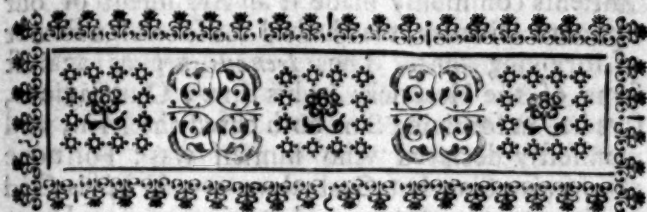
which,



Book XVIII. which, according to some learned Mens Opinion, denotes praying among the *Energumens*, or those that were vexed with wicked and unclean Spirits. But others think the *Hyemantes* were such Penitents, as for the monstrous Greatness of their Crimes were not only expelled out of the Communion of the Church, but cast out of the very *Atrium*, or Courts and Porch of it, and put to do Penance in the open Air, where they stood expos'd to the Inclemency of all Wearers whatsoever. To this *Tertullian* seems to allude, where, speaking of the antient Discipline, and distinguishing the Degrees and Malignity of heinous Offences, he says, There were some impious Furies of Lust, so far transgressing all the Laws of Nature both with respect to Bodies and Sex, that they did not only expel them from the Doors of the Church, but from any cover'd Place belonging to it, as being Monsters rather than common Vices. By admitting of either of which Opinions, by supposing those who were guilty of such enormous Vices, either to be rank'd among *Demoniacks*, or wholly to be kept out of the Church, we have some proper Idea of the Church's Severity against them.

De Pudicitia,

c. 4.



## BOOK XIX.

*Of Absolution, or the Manner of readmitting Penitents into the Communion of the Church.*



### CHAP. I.

*Of the Nature of Absolution, and the several Sorts of it; more particularly of such as relate to the Penitential Discipline of the Church.*



**A**S the Church had Power of disciplining with Strictness and Severity all penitent Transgressors of her Rules; so she had power of loosing them from those Bonds, and restoring them to the Communion of the Church again, when their Penance was compleated. But the Power that was challenged herein was purely mi-

## Book XIX.

Lib. 5. c. 7.

Tert. 1. 4. c. 10.  
Nov. de Trin. c.  
13. Athan. O-  
rat. 3. cont. A-  
rianos. Ambr.  
de Sp. Sanc. l. 3.

ministerial; the absolute, sovereign, independent, and irreverfible Power was left only to God. The Antients commonly made it an Argument of our Saviour's Divinity, that he had the fovereign Power of forgiving Sins. Thus *Irenæus* argues againft fome of the Hereticks in his time; Our Saviour, fays he, in forgiving Sins both cured the Man, and manifeflly declared who himfelf was: For none can forgive Sins but God alone—As he is God he fhews mercy to us, and forgives us our Debts which we owe to God our Maker. The like Argument is ufed by *Tertullian* againft *Marcian*, by *Novatian* againft the *Ebionites*, by *Athanasius* againft the *Arians*, by *St. Ambrose* againft the *Macedonians*, and by many other antient Writers; all which Testimonies are already produced in an excellent Book of *Bifhop Ufher's*, entitled, *Answer to the Jesuits Challenge*. Since then according to the general Agreement of the Antients none can forgive Sins but God only, with an absolute Power; the Power of Abfolution in the Church muft be purely ministerial, and confift in the due exercife and application of thofe Means in the ordinary ufe of which Remiffion of Sins is convey'd. And thofe Means are ufually by the Antients reckoned up under thefe five Heads. 1. The Abfolution or great Indulgence of Baptifm. 2. The Abfolution of the Eucharift. 3. The Abfolution of the Word and Doctrine. 4. The Abfolution of Imposition of Hands, and Prayer. 5. The Abfolution of Reconcilement to the Church and her Communion, by a Relaxation of her Cenfures. The two firft may be called *Sacramental* Abfolution, the third *Declaratory*, the fourth *Precatory*, and the fifth *Judicial*; and all of them authoritative, fo far as they are done by the ministerial Authority and Commiffion which Chrift hath given to his Church, to reconcile Men to God by the Exercife of fuch Acts and Means as conduce to that end in a fubordinate and ministerial way according to his Appointment.

As to the firft, Tho Baptifm was always esteem'd the moft univerfal Abfolution and grand Indulgence,



gence in the Ministry of the Church, as conveying a general Pardon of Sins to every true Member of Christ at his first entrance into his mystical Body thereby; yet this was of no use in penitential Discipline to Persons once baptiz'd, there being no Reconciliation after any lapse by a second Baptism. But yet so far as the Ministers of Christ are authoriz'd to admit Profelytes and Converts into the Church by the Sacrament of Baptism, so far they are empower'd to grant Remission of Sins, because they administer that whose proper Effect is the Remission of Sins, as it is the Seal of God's Covenant and means of conveying all the spiritual Blessings of Christ's Death and Passion to those who come in the sincerity of their Hearts with due Qualifications to receive it. The Antients commonly founded the Power of remitting or retaining Sins in Baptism, upon those words of our Saviour, *Whose soever Sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever Sins ye retain they are retain'd.* St. Cyril of Alexandria in his Exposition of them, says, spiritual Men remit or retain Sins two ways: 1. When they call those to Baptism who are worthy of it upon the account of a good Life and approved Faith, or forbid and repel those from the divine Gift who are unworthy of it. 2. When they punish and correct the Children of the Church for offending, and pardon them again upon their Repentance. St. Cyprian and St. Ambrose, having to deal with the *Novatians* who denied the Church all manner of Power to pardon Sins after Baptism, argue with them upon this common Principle acknowledged on both sides, that Christ gave his Ministers power to remit Sins by Baptism: For the *Novatians* did not deny this, therefore St. Ambrose reduces them to an absurdity with great acuteness, putting this Question to them, Why do ye baptize, if Sins cannot be remitted by the Ministry of Man? What is the difference, whether Priests assume this Power as given to them in the exercise of Penance, or in the Administration of Baptism? Plainly implying that the Administration

Joh. 10. 25.

Lib. 22. Tom 4.

Cyp. Ep. 76.  
—73.

De Pen. lib. 1.  
c. 7.

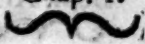


Book XIX. of Baptism was one way of remitting Sins. And it may be said with Truth that the Antients were generally in these Sentiments, and perhaps to a Man concurring in this Opinion, that the Ministers of Christ are instrumental in remitting of Sins by the Administration of Baptism; for as much as they are appointed Judges of the fitness and qualifications of such Persons as are to be admitted, and are equally empowered to admit or reject them upon the performance or non-performance of the ordinary Conditions requir'd of all that come to Christ's holy Baptism, whereby Remission of Sins is convey'd.

Vid. Orig. Ec-  
clesi. Book 19.  
c. 1. n. 2.

The Case is the very same with respect to their Power in administering the other Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. For that also is a means of conveying and sealing to Men the Forgiveness of Sins. It only differs from Baptism in this, that Baptism is the first grant of such a Blessing; and the Lord's Supper is a farther Confirmation, or Continuance and Repetition of it. So that as Ministers are empowered by virtue of being Stewards of Christ's Mysteries to admit the worthy to a participation of the Eucharist, and debar the unworthy and scandalous Livers from the benefit of such Communion; so far they are invested with Power of remitting or retaining Men's Sins, as being proper Judges of Men's Qualifications for the reception or not reception of such a Mystery, upon which in the ordinary Method and Dispensation of God's Grace, Remission of Sins is made to depend.

This sacramental Absolution had some relation to penitential Discipline, tho it did not solely belong to it. For it was given to all baptiz'd Persons that never fell under penitential Discipline, as well as to those who lapsed, and were restor'd to Communion again. To those who never fell into such great Sins as requir'd a publick Penance, it was an Absolution from lesser Sins, which were called Venial, and Sins of daily IncurSION; and to Penitents who had laps'd, it was an Absolution from those greater Sins for which they were fallen under Censure. And that it was esteem'd such a general Absolution in both Cases,



Cases, we learn from the Characters which the Antients give of it both at large, and with a particular Respect to its loosing the Bonds of Excommunication. *Cyprian* says in general, That when we drink the Blood of the Lord, and the Cup of Salvation, we put off the Remembrance of the old Man, and forget our former secular Conversation; and our sorrowful and heavy Heart, which before was press'd with the Anguish of our Sins, is now absolv'd or set at liberty by the Joyfulness of the divine Indulgence or Pardon. And more particularly, that it was esteem'd an Absolution, as it resolv'd the Bonds of Excommunication, without any other Ceremony of receiving the Penitent into the Communion of the Church, we learn from the first Council of *Orange*; where an Order was made, that such Penitents as are ready to leave the Body shall have the Communion without the reconciliatory Imposition of Hands, which according to the Decrees of the Fathers was sufficient for the Consolation or Reconciliation of a dying Person.

Ep. 63. ad Cæcil. p. 153.

Can. 3.

Conc. Carth. 4. c. 76.

The third sort of Absolution is that of the Word and Doctrine; and this is partly declarative, and partly operative and effecting, and is of use both in penitential Discipline, and out of it. For the Ministers of Christ, as his Ambassadors, have Commission and Authority to make a general and publick Declaration of the Terms of Reconciliation and Salvation to Men. And this is also ministerially operative in working Faith and Repentance in Mens Souls, which are the Terms of Salvation whereby they obtain Remission of Sins: *For Faith comes by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God.* They have also a Power to declare to Men in particular that they are in a salvable State, when upon the best human Judgment they can make, they discern in them the necessary Conditions of Salvation. This is that Key of Knowledge whereby they open to Men the Gate of Heaven, and the way to eternal Life, procuring for them the Remission of Sins, and all the Benefits of the Gospel-Covenant: And when they

Book XIX. fall from God's Favour by wilful Sin, this is a means, as a part of the Church's penitential Discipline, to reduce them back to their primitive Condition. Thus St. *Ambrose* says, Sins are remitted by the Word of God, whereof the *Levite* is the Interpreter, and a sort of Executor. And in this respect the *Levite* is the Minister of Remission. 'Tis this Key of the Word, says *Maximus Taurinensis*, which opens the Conscience to Confession of Sins, and includes therein the Grace of the Mystery of Salvation unto Eternity. Whence Ministers are said to be instrumental in procuring Men Remission of Sins, because to them is committed the Word of Reconciliation.

Amb. de Abel.  
& Cain, l. 2.  
c. 4.

Hom. 5. de Nat.  
Perri & Pauli,  
p. 231.

De Sacerdot. l.  
5. c. 6.

Ep. 89. ad Theo-  
dor.

De Bapt. l. 3.

De Spir. Sanct.  
l. 3. c. 19.

The fourth sort of Absolution was that of Intercession and Prayer, which was used as a Concomitant of most other Absolutions, and to which was commonly join'd Imposition of Hands, a Rite and Ceremony of Benediction that was used in all Offices of Religion. St. *Chrysostom*, speaking of the several Powers of the sacerdotal Office, and the Methods of expiating Sin, says, The Priests do it not only by their Doctrine and Admonition, but also by the Assistance of their Prayers. They have power of remitting Sins not only when they regenerate us in Baptism, but afterwards: For St. *James* says, *Is any sick among you? let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over him—and the Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed Sin, it shall be forgiven him.* Pope *Leo* after the same manner makes sacerdotal Absolution to consist in Prayer. The Assistances of Divine Goodness, says he, are so ordain'd that the Divine Indulgence is not to be obtain'd but by the Supplications of the Priests. And it is very useful and necessary that the Guilt of Sin should be loos'd by the Supplications of the Priests before the last Day. St. *Austin* says, The Prayers of holy Men in the Church procure Remission of Sins, both in Baptism and Penance. And St. *Ambrose* says, The Priests execute that Commission which is given by Christ (*John 20. 23.*) for remitting



mitting of Sins, as Intercessors by their Prayers. They make request, but God bestows the Gift: The Service is humane, but the Bounty of Forgiveness is from the Power above. And of so general use in the primitive Church was this way, whereby the Ministers of Christ were empower'd to remit Sins, that it attended and bore a considerable share in the other Absolutions.

But the most famous way of remitting Sins and absolving Sinners, was the Absolution of Reconciliation to the Church, and Restoration to her Communion after the performance of Canonical Penance; and this was call'd *Judicial*. And this comprehended all the other ways of Absolution, except that of Baptismal Absolution: For solemn Prayer was made to God for them, to procure their Absolution from him; and the solemn Imposition of Hands was given them, to signify their Reconciliation; and the Eucharist was immediately given them, to restore them to the Communion of the Altar; and by the whole, a Declaration was made, that they were now again in the Society and Peace of the Church, and in favour with God, as far as human Understanding could make any Judgment of them. And this was properly a Judicial Act: For as the Ministers of Christ are Judges of Mens Qualifications, for their first Admission into the Church by Baptism; so are they vested with Power to exclude the Scandalous and Profane, and to re-admit the truly Penitent, upon their giving evident Tokens of a real Conversion, and bringing forth Fruits meet for Repentance. They are Christ's Substitutes and Vicegerents in his Church, binding and loosing, opening and shutting with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And certain it is, that so long as they use them according to the Rules prescrib'd them by Christ, their Sentence, tho' only ministerial, is of great effect in the external Communion of the Church at present, and will be found to be of force, as a prejudging fore-runner of the Sentence of the last Day. For under these Limitations, and reserving a due Prerogative



Book XIX. to the infallible Sovereignty of Christ, it cannot be doubted but that whosoever Sins they retain, they are retain'd, and whosoever Sins they remit, they are remitted unto them.



## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Customs, Rites and Circumstances antiently observ'd in the publick Absolution of Sinners.*

**A**S it was an antient Custom that no Sinners should be absolv'd till they had perform'd their regular Penance, except in case of imminent Death; so no sooner had they gone thro their course of Discipline, but they were reconcil'd in the following manner. They were brought to the Altar in the same Habit that they perform'd their Penance, that is in Sackcloth, and there with solemn Prayers and Tears and Imposition of Hands receiv'd to full Communion. The first Council of *Toledo* mentions the Circumstance of Sackcloth, and the Altar for the place of Reconciliation. And *Optatus* says that their way of reconciling Penitents was the same that was used in the Catholick Church, viz. that at the same time that they laid their Hands on Sinners and remitted their Sins, they turned to the Altar and said the Lord's Prayer.

But in some cases, when the Crime was very publick, and more than ordinarily scandalous to the People, then the Criminal for example sake receiv'd his Absolution in a more publick place, before the *Apfis* or Reading-Desk, in the open Body of the Church and in view of all the People, as is evident from a Canon in the third Council of *Carthage*, where it is express'd, that if any Penitent's

Can. 2.

Lib. 2. p. 57.

Can. 32.  
Albasp. not. in  
C. Carth. 3.

nitent's Crime be publick, or vulgarly known to all, so as to have given scandal to the whole Church, he shall receive Imposition of Hands, that is, his Absolution before the *Apsis*.

The performance of this Absolution was al-ways in a supplicatory Form, by Imposition of Hands and Prayer; the one as a means procuring, and the other as the Rite declaring their Reconciliation to God and his Church: whence St. *Austin* calls it, *Oratio manus impositionis*, the Prayer of Imposition of Hands. Some Forms of which both for Penance and other Benedictions may be seen in the Author of the Apostolical Constitutions: And particularly for reconciling of Penitents there is an Order that the Bishop shall receive them to Communion with Imposition of Hands, and the Prayer of the whole Church for them; the Form of which Prayer is in the end of St. *James's* Liturgy under the title of *εὐχὴ τῆ ἱεραγίας*, the Prayer of Propitiation, and is directed to Christ in these Words. ' O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Thou Shepherd and Lamb, that takest away the Sins of the World, that forgavest the Debt to the two Debtors, and grantedst remission of Sins to the sinful Woman, and gavest to the sick of the Palsy both a Cure and Pardon of Sins; remit, blot out and pardon our Sins, both voluntary and involuntary, whatever we have done wittingly or unwittingly, by Transgression and Disobedience, which thy Spirit knoweth better than we our selves. And whereinssoever thy Servants have err'd from thy Commandments in Word or Deed, as Men carrying Flesh about them and living in the World, or seduc'd by the Instigations of Satan, or whatever Curse or peculiar Anathema they are fallen under, I pray and beseech thy ineffable Goodness to absolve them with thy Word, and remit their Curse and Anathema according to thy Mercy. O Lord and Master, hear my Prayer for thy Servants; Thou that forgettest Injuries, overlook all their Failings, pardon their Offences both voluntary and involun-

Cypr. Ep. 12.  
P. 39.

De Bap. l. 3. c. 16.

Const. Apost.  
Lib. 8. c. 9.

lib. 2. c. 18.

Liturg. Jacob.  
in Bibl. Patr.  
Tom. 2.

## Book XIX.

luntary, and deliver them from eternal Punishment. For Thou art He that hast commanded us saying, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven:* because Thou art our God, the God that canst have mercy, and save and forgive Sins; and to Thee with the eternal Father and the quickening Spirit belongs Glory now and for ever, world without end. *Amen.*

*Dr. Smith's Account, p. 181.*

*Answer to the Challenge.*

The like Forms of Absolution by Prayer are (as *Dr. Smith* has shewed) still in use in the *Greek Church*; and *Bishop Usher* proves that the same Form was used for many Ages in the *Latin*; the Truth of which is confirm'd by the old *Latin Missal*, where the Absolution under the Title of *Indulgentia* runs in this Form: 'He that forgave the sinful Woman all her Sins, for which she shed Tears, and open'd the Gate of Paradise to the Thief upon a single Confession, make you Partakers of his Redemption, and absolve you from all the Bonds of your Sins; and heal those infirm Members by the Medicine of his Mercy; and restore them to the Body of his holy Church by his Grace, and keep them whole and sound for ever.' As to the Judicative Form, *I absolve thee*, which both *Morinus* and *Bishop Usher* have prov'd not to be in use till the twelfth or thirteenth Century; *St. Jerome* and *Peter Lombard* mean by it no more than the Declaration of God's Will to a penitent Sinner, that upon the best Judgment the Priest can make of his Repentance, he esteems him absolv'd before God, and accordingly pronounces and declares him absolv'd: which they farther explain by the Example of the legal Priests cleansing the Leper, only by declaring him clean; and that beyond this no one can go, but the Searcher of Hearts, to whom alone belongs the infallible and irreversible Sentence of Absolution.

Besides the common way of reconciling ordinary Penitents to the Church, there was something very often peculiar in the Reconciliation of Hereticks and Schismaticks. If they were only such as fell into

*Morin. de penit. l. 8. c. 8, 9; &c. Usher ibid. Hieron. in Mart. 16. Tom. 9. p. 49. Lombard Sen. lib. 4. dist. 18.*

into Heresy or Schism, after they had been baptiz'd in the Church; then they were reconcil'd much after the same manner as other Penitents, only they were oblig'd to make a Confession and Abjuration of their Errors. If they were Ring-leaders and Broachers of the Heresy, who drew others into their Error and Faction; it was commonly requir'd that they should bring back the Multitude whom they had deceiv'd, before they obtain'd a perfect Absolution. Sometimes they were oblig'd, as a Condition of their Absolution, to make discovery of the Remainders of their Faction. Thus St. *Austin* refus'd to admit again to the Church *Victorinus* a Sub-Deacon, who had fled over to the Sect of the *Manichees*, unless he would give information of the rest of his Party. And sometimes they were requir'd to abjure their Errors in writing; which Condition was exacted by the Councils of *Nice*, *Arles*, and *Laodicea* of the *Novatians*; by that of *Gangra* of the *Eustathians*; and by the general Council of *Constantinople*, of the *Macedonians*, *Sabbatians*, *Quartadecimans*, &c. And for greater Confirmation, sometimes the Church, to be ascertain'd of their Sincerity in making Recantations, required those heretical Apostates, before she would receive them into her Communion again, or grant them Absolution, to take a solemn Oath, as *Socrates* says *Constantine* oblig'd *Arius* to do, tho he did it fraudulently, and like an Impostor.

Terrull. de præ-  
scrip. c. 30. CYP.  
Ep. 52.

Conc. Nic. 1. c. 8.  
Arl. c. 9.  
Laod. c. 7.  
Gan. in præem.  
Confl. c. 7.

Lib. 1. cap. 28.

If Hereticks or Schismaticks had been such as were baptiz'd in Heresy or Schism, tho with the usual Form of Baptism, then they were reconcil'd not only with Imposition of Hands, but with the holy Unction or Chrism added to it to give them Confirmation, and denote their Reception of the holy Spirit of Peace on their returning to the Peace and Unity of the Church; which they could not be said to have out of the Church, in Heresy or Schism. This Ceremony of Chrism is mention'd by the Councils of *Orange* and *Epone*, and recommended by the Council of *Laodicea*, to be us'd with Imposition of Hands, in the Recon-

Con. Aurant. 1.  
c. 2.  
Epaun. c. 16.  
Laod. c. 7.

ciliation



Book XIX.



Ep. 18. c. 3.

ciliation of such Hereticks as had been baptiz'd in any Heresy or Schism, with the true Form of Baptism. And these were not oblig'd to go thro' all the Stages of Penance, as other Penitents did, in the Church; but were reconcil'd in a more compendious way, more suitable to their State and Condition, as Strangers and Foreigners now just entering within the Pale of the Church. For which reason Pope *Innocent* styles their short Penance only *Imaginem Penitentiae*, or a faint Resemblance of that Penance, which often held others very long under the Discipline of the Church.

Can. 19.

Con. Laod. c. 8.  
Arl. c. 16. Trull.  
c. 96.

As for such as had been baptiz'd by Hereticks or Schismatics, by such a corrupted Form as destroy'd the true Nature and Essence of Baptism; those could be admitted no other way, but, as Heathens, by a new Baptism. There was no other way of reconciling them to the Catholick Church, but by instructing and training them up to the knowledge of the true Faith; First, as Catechumens, and then giving them the Absolution of Baptism, as having never receiv'd any true Baptism before. Thus the Council of *Nice* order'd the *Paulianists*, upon their return to the Catholick Church, to be baptiz'd; and a like Order was made by the Council of *Laodicea* for the Reconciliation of the *Montanists*; and other Councils decreed the same for other Hereticks, who had not been truly baptiz'd with due Form of Baptism.

Ep. 33. ad Marcel.

There is one Circumstance more to be observ'd under this Head, which is the time of Absolution: And this seems to have been fix'd in the ordinary course of Discipline to the Day of our Saviour's Passion, or rather the Day on which he was betray'd. St. *Ambrose* says expressly, that on the Day that our Lord gave himself for us, it was usual in the Church to relax Mens Penance, or grant them Absolution. And the Custom in the *Roman Church* under Pope *Innocent*, was to absolve Penitents only on the *Thursday* before *Easter*, except some Sickness interven'd, and the Penitent's Life was despair'd of. In imitation, perhaps, of this Custom of the Church, the Emperors *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*,

Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 7.

Codex Theod.  
lib. 9.

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*dosius*, and their Successors, were wont to send forth their civil Absolutions, or Indulgences, as they call'd them : whereby at the Paschal Festival they granted Pardon to all Criminals who lay bound in Prison for their Faults ; except some that were of a more malignant and unpardonable Nature.

So much for the Manner and Circumstances of Absolution, given to all sorts of Penitents living. But the Church had likewise a way of absolving Penitents, and receiving Men into Communion, even after Death, in these two Cases : First, If true Penitents, and very good Men, should chance to die by accident, under the Censure of Excommunication unrelax'd ; or, if innocent Men should be unjustly excommunicated by the Power of some prevailing Faction during Life : In favour of the first sort of these Penitents the fourth Council of *Carthage* decreed, That if any Penitents, who were diligently observing the Rules of Penance, happen'd to die by any sudden Accident, whilst they were in a Journey, or at Sea, where no Assistance could be given them ; their Memorials notwithstanding should be recommended both in the Prayers and Oblations of the Church. Can. 79.

And the way of restoring the other sort of Persons, who were unjustly excommunicated by the Power of some prevailing Faction, was by inserting their Names into the Diptychs of the Church, as *Theodoret* tells us, it was done by *Atticus* in the Case of *Chrysostom*. Lib. 5. c. 34.



## C H A P. III.

*Of the Minister of Ecclesiastical Discipline,  
and particularly of the Minister of Ab-  
solution.*

H A T all the Power of Discipline in the Practice of the Church, was primarily lodg'd in the Hands of the Bishop; who, so far as he could manage it, might retain it solely to himself, and exercise it at his own Discretion; is very evident from the foregoing Accounts. But because the Necessities of the Church requir'd in many Cases, that part of this Burden should devolve upon others, and the Bishop was not able personally to discharge the whole of it to all that needed; therefore Presbyters were taken in, to be Sharers and Fellow-Labourers with him. They had a general Commission to grant the great Indulgence, or Absolution of Baptism, and that of the Eucharist, and the Word and Doctrine to all that needed. And tho they were more restrain'd in the Exercise of publick Discipline, and the final Reconciliation of publick Penitents, by Imposition of Hands and Prayer; yet the intermediate Imposition of Hands upon the Penitents, in their daily Exercise, was often committed to them; and by the Bishop's leave they might give the final Reconciliation to publick Penitents, either openly in the Church, or privately in a sick Bed, when necessity and the fear of imminent Death required a speedier Absolution: All which is evident from several Canons in the second and third Councils of *Carthage*, the Councils of *Orange* and *Epone*; which restrain the Power of Presbyters in reconciling publick Penitents; and reserve it solely to the Bishop, who yet could allow it them at discretion. Nor was this Commission granted only to Presbyters, but to Deacons also:

for

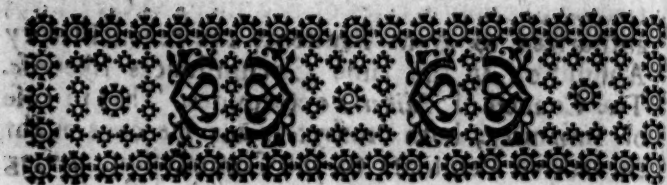
Con. Car. c. 3.  
4. 32.  
Auran. 1. c. 2.  
Epau. c. 16.

for as they were allow'd to give Men the Absolution of Baptism in cases of necessity, so they were authorized to grant Penitents the reconciliatory Absolution in the same Circumstances likewise. The Council of *Eliberis* determines, That in case of Infirmary, both Presbyters and Deacons ought to receive Penitents to the Communion, having the Bishop's Command thereto. And St. *Cyprian* says, That if Penitents were seized with any Calamity, and were in apparent danger of Death, in the absence of the Bishop, they might make their Confession before any Presbyter that was present; or if a Presbyter could not be found before a Deacon and receive Imposition of Hands, that they might go to the Lord in Peace. Can. 32.

Nay, in case of extreme Necessity, a Layman was allow'd by some Canons to give Baptism to a Catechumen (which was reputed, as we have heard, one sort of Absolution) rather than he should die unbaptized. But this being a Matter of Controversy, we refer the Reader to Mr. *Bingham's Scholaistical History of Lay-Baptism*, and Mr. *Laurence's Answer*. Certain it is, that neither Laymen nor Deacons were allow'd to consecrate the other Sacrament, that being the Office of Presbyters only. And yet again, it has been allow'd, that in the same case of absolute Necessity, a Layman might carry and minister in the Deacon's Absence, the consecrated Bread and Wine in private to a dying Person, and so far be instrumental in his Absolution. But still Bishop *Fell's* Remark upon this is very just, *viz.* That whatever Necessity compels Men to do, it defends but only so far and so long as the Necessity lasts. Con: Elib. c. 38, &c.

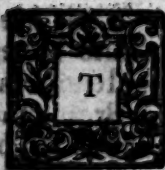
We have now gone over all that relates to the Exercise of penitential Discipline, so far as concerns the Practice of the antient Church. As for doctrinal Points, those come not directly within the design of the present Undertaking, which only considers the Practice of the Church, without any Invasion of the Province of Casuists.





A SHORT  
**ACCOUNT**  
 OF THE  
*Eight First General Councils.*

*Of the First General Council, the First  
 Council of Nice.*



THE first General Council ever since the Time of our Blessed Saviour was the *Nicene*; so call'd from the Place where it was held, viz. *Nice*, a City of *Bithynia*, a Province in *Asia minor*, formerly call'd *Bebrycia* and *Mygdonia*; and now, by some *Bursia*; by others, *Bescangial*, and by the *Turks*, *Osmanili*.

But tho the Place in which this most renowned Council was conven'd is universally agreed upon, the precise Time of its Celebration is not so certainly determined. That it was held in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, the first *Christian* Emperor, as it had been summon'd by his Honourable Letters, is very evident from *Eusebius*, an Eye witness, and a very significant Party in it; from *Socrates*, and other Historians; besides the concurring Testimony of the whole Council it self

De Vit. Const. 1.  
 3. c. 6  
 L. 1. c. 5.

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## First Council of Nice.

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to attest it. For in a Letter to the Church of *Alexandria*, they begin thus: 'Seeing that by the Grace of God, and the Command of the most holy Emperor *Constantine*, that gather'd us together from several Cities and Provinces, this great and holy Council is met at *Nice*, &c.' But then about the *Time*, Authors are not so unanimous. For whereas some place it under the Year of our Lord 324, others make it in 325; some again in 328, and others in 330. But our modern Writers in general, place it to the Year 325: Which seems to be the truer Account, especially if we follow the Authority of the forenam'd *Eusebius*: Who says that *Constantine* made a royal Entertainment at the Conclusion of that Council, for the Fathers of it, in the 20th Year of his Reign; which began immediately upon the Demise of his Father *Constantius*, in the Year 306.

However, what gave occasion for calling this Holy and Oecumenical or General Council, we have more certain Knowledge of, viz. the Heresy of *Arius*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Alexandria*; who began to vent his pernicious Doctrines against the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, about the Year of our Lord 317: Asserting that God created and made the Son before the World: That the Son had nothing of that before, which he receiv'd from the Father: That for this Reason he could not be equal to the Father, but must be deemed as a Creature, inferior to the Father, both in Power and Dignity.

Some Authors are of opinion that *Arius*, who was a Man of quick and ready Wit, supported by a considerable Insight into all the Quirks and Fallacies of *Logick*, however strenuously he might afterwards defend those Opinions, yet he did not advance them at first, so much out of Principle and Self-conviction of the Truth and Solidity of them, as out of Pique and Resentment against *Alexander* his Bishop, because he had been prefer'd to the Episcopal Throne of *Alexandria* before him: who thought himself no whit less deserving that Honour, either for Goodness or Learning.

From

Council I.

Soc. l. 1. c. 6.  
Theod. l. 1. c. 9.

Du Pin Cent. 4.  
Prid. Intr. Hist.

De Vit. Conf.  
l. 3. c. 14.

Du Pin Cent. 4.  
Prid. Intr. Hist.

Bulling. de  
Conc. l. 1.  
Id. ib. ex Athanas.  
nas.

Theod. l. 1. c. 7.  
Bull. de. Conc.  
l. 1.

Theod. l. i. c. 2.

From that time, as *Theodoret* says, *Arius* continually endeavour'd to find out some Occasion for Calumny, and whereof to accuse *Alexander*. But when, after all his most diligent Scrutiny, and prying into the Life and Actions of that Prelate, he could by no means find the least Slur; he resolv'd to take another Course, and traduce his Principles, since he found it impracticable upon any Account whatsoever to traduce his Conduct.

Socr. l. i. c. 3.

Accordingly one Day, when the Bishop was discoursing with his Presbyters, perhaps somewhat too nice and *metaphysically*, upon the Doctrine of the TRINITY, *Arius* pretended himself apprehensive that the Bishop's Arguments tended to *Sabellianism*; and setting himself to oppose them, he ran his own into a contrary Extreme; affirming that *if the Father begot the Son, he that was begotten had a beginning of Existence; that therefore there was a time when the SON was not, and consequently that the Existence of the Son began from nothing.*

Theod. l. i. c. 2.

These pernicious Positions, being once broach'd, very quickly found their Patrons and Defensors; insomuch that very hot Disputes, and furious Animosities were kindled in the Church of *Alexandria* by them. To appease which in the most amicable and *Christian* manner possible, *Alexander* condescended to have several repeated Interviews and Discourses with the Arch-Heretick *Arius*, endeavouring with all imaginable Tenderness and Persuasion, join'd with the most cogent Arguments Scripture could afford, and Reason enforce, to reduce him from his abominable Errors to the Orthodox Faith, and Unity of the Church. But all the good Bishop's Condescension and Reasonings were but as Fewel to the Fire of the Pride of *Arius*, who, persuading himself that he had gain'd a Victory over the Bishop by his Fallacies, not only continued obstinate, but inculcated his devilish Errors into others; daily defending his wild Notions, not only in the Church, but in all publick Assemblies whatsoever. This *Alexander* had observ'd, with the greatest Concern; and well weighing the dangerous Consequence of such infectious

Theod. ib.

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Mischiefs (for the Poison had by this time diffus'd it self from *Alexandria*, thro all *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Thebais*) he summon'd a Synod of the *Egyptian* and *Libyan* Bishops, to stop this growing Evil, if possible, by the Severity of Ecclesiastical Censures.

The Synod accordingly met at *Alexandria*, *An. 322.* in which near 100 Bishops were present, by whom the Heresies of *Arius* were condemn'd; himself and Followers, such as were of the Presbyterate, degraded; and all in general laid under the Sentence of Excommunication.

The Process having run thus far, the next Step Bishop *Alexander* took, was by his circular Letters to all Bishops and Pastors of the *Catholic* Church, to notify the Sentence against *Arius* with his Adherents, and the Reasons of those severe Proceedings against him: Which were briefly contain'd in a Summary of their Tenets, inserted in the Body of those Letters, to this effect: That whereas the *Arians*, contrary to the direct Words and Meaning of the holy Scriptures did assert and maintain, *That there was a time when God was not a Father; that the Father created the Son, till then not existing, out of Non-existence: That the Son is a Creature, and not substantially like unto the Father, nor the real and genuine Word and Wisdom of the Father; but only so stil'd, because the Word and Wisdom of God created him: That his Nature is capable of Change and Variation, even of as black a Degeneracy as that of the fallen Angels: That the Son cannot perfectly and adequately know or see the Father; no, nor yet understand his own Nature and Substance; for that God created him purely upon our account, to be only as an Instrument in his Hand, when he should afterwards create us:* That for these impious Assertions, and their Obstinacy in maintaining them, They, i. e. *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, together with other Bishops of *Egypt* and *Lybia*, almost 100 in number, being assembled in Council, had pronounced *Arius* and his Accomplices, his Adherents and Favourers, but particularly *Achillas*, *Aithales*, *Carpontes*, another *Arius*, *Sarmates*, *Euzoius*, *Lucius*, *Julian*,

*Du Pin Cent. 41*

*Parker's Abridg  
of Socrat. &c.*



See Bull. l. i. c.  
21.

ibid.

Sozom. l. i. c.  
15.

lian, Menas, Helladius, Gaius, with Secundus and Theonas, lately Bishops; all alike to be held accursed.

Arius having been thus condemn'd at Alexandria, betook himself into Palestine, still continuing to spread his Errors, and extend the Kingdom of Darkness, as his Travels were extended; by his subtle Arguments, smooth Tongue, and great Pretensions to Love and Charity, deceiving the Ignorant and Unwary. Whereupon the Bishop of Alexandria repeated his circular Letters against him; which had this effect among most of the Bishops, that the Doctrines of Arius found not that Reception and Countenance among them he himself expected. Only Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia in Bithynia, who had list'd himself into the Party of Arius before, and upon that account had been very severely censured in Alexander's Letters, was strenuous in his Interest, and wrote several times to Alexander to drop the Dispute, and receive Arius into Communion. But his Letters not prevailing with Alexander, Eusebius writ also to the Bishops of the Catholick Church, to excite them against Alexander, and to patronize Arius. And to second his particular Letters, a Synod of the Arian Party met at Bithynia; from which also Letters were sent every way to the Bishops of the Church, to engage them to receive Arius, and oblige Alexander to do the like. This Synod in Bithynia was held An. 323.

All this time Arius himself was not idle, but working like a Mole out of sight, and by special Messengers solliciting the several Bishops of Tyre, Caesarea and Scythopolis, to approve of a new Proposal he had to offer, if he could by no means be re-admitted to his Post in the Church of Alexandria, viz. That he, and the Presbyters of his Opinion, might be admitted to exercise their Function, not in the respective Churches they formerly belong'd to, but at large, in some or other of them: Which they, and other Bishops of Palestine, consented to; tho' they exhorted him and his Partisans, at the same time, to pay

all

all Obedience to *Alexander*, and humbly to solicit a Reconciliation.

It unluckily happen'd about this time, that the Emperor had taken up his Residence and kept his Court at *Nicomedia*; which had given *Eusebius*, Bishop of that City, as was said before, an opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Great Ones, and thereby to procure himself a considerable Interest in the Emperor. This had made the Eyes of many to be fix'd upon him, and render'd him popular: Which prov'd no small Detriment to the *Catholick* Cause; for many of the Bishops were, upon that account, now induced openly to favour the Opinion of *Eusebius*: From whence they were called *Eusebians*. And here arose such violent Tumults in the Church, such horrible Distractions and Confusion, that not only the Clergy were divided among themselves, but the Lay-Multitude also were involv'd in the same common Calamity; some vindicating the Party of *Alexander*, while others with the greatest Assurance most vigorously defended the Doctrines of the *Arian* or *Eusebian* Faction: Insomuch that the *Christian* Religion in a little time became the Scorn and Ridicule, not only of all Companies and publick Assemblies, but even of the Stage and Theatre it self. Socrat. l. 1. c. 3.

And now the Parties on both sides were so inflam'd, that frequent and almost continual Letters flew about: Many in Defence, and not fewer in Opposition to the *Arian* Doctrine. Those that run against *Arius* were all sent to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who collected them into a Volume; as *Arius* did those on his own side: And this last Collection continued a long time to be the great and infallible Oracle of the *Arians* and other Sects of Hereticks, if they are not so at this Day. See Mr. *Whiston's Primitive Library*. Socrat. ib.

In this Epistolary Conflict, as the Bishop of *Alexandria* was a Principal on the side of the Orthodox, so was he no mean Champion for them; signalizing himself, not only in his Writings, but also in his Actions; and giving such an Example of

immovable Constancy and Resolution in the Defence of the *Christian* Religion, as would shame the Age we live in to hear it but faintly describ'd.

*Ex Ungue Leonem*, is an old Saying, *One may know the Lion by his Paw*. And how brave and zealous an Assertor of the *Christian* Religion this *Alexander* was, may very easily be collected from his Epistle to his Name-sake Bishop of *Constantinople*, in relation to this Affair; which is recorded at length by *Theodore*, and abridg'd by the learned Mr. *Parker*; whose Abridgment it cannot be improper to subjoin, that the present Age may see what Sentiments the former had of those pernicious Doctrines which are now so much encouraged.

*Park. Abrid.* vol.  
2. P. 17.

In it, says the Abridgment, he warns him, *i. e.* the Bishop of *Constantinople*, against permitting those Workers of Iniquity to come within any Churches under his Jurisdiction, whatever pretended Letters of Communion any of them should bring; for that they had not only with the *Gentiles* and *Jews* deny'd the Divinity of Christ, but had also done what his very Crucifiers could not persuade themselves to do, torn asunder his seamless Coat, erected new Altars, and private obscure Conventicles; and that unsatiated with Heresy and Schism, they had made it their Business to molest, and ruin, and destroy the *Catholicks*, particularly by most false and scandalous Informations and Prosecutions against them in the secular Courts: That after they had been synodically ejected, they were so impudent as to make their Court to his holy Brethren of the Episcopal College, for commendatory and communicatory Letters; which having by their little knavish Arts, Dissimulations and Calumnies, obtain'd from too many Bishops, they chim'd that Authority in the Ears of the People, and made use of it to seduce others. That to undeceive those Bishops that had been thus impos'd upon, and to prevent the Scandal which must otherwise fall upon the Church, by such an Infraction of the Apostolical Rule of Communion,

and

and by the Encouragement which these wicked  
 Men receiv'd from it, he thought it necessary to  
 acquaint his Collegues with their Purposes and  
 Principles; as that the latter were chiefly found-  
 ed upon a perverse Interpretation of those Places  
 of Scripture, which concern'd the State of Christ's  
 Humiliation, and upon an impious Antipathy to  
 those which prove his Divinity and Equality  
 with the Father: That this was the way, by  
 which they perswaded themselves that Christ was  
 not the Begotten of the Father, but only a Son  
 adopted or predestinated upon the account of  
 an extraordinary Piety and Probity; and that  
 St. Paul or St. Peter, nay and themselves, were  
 as capable of as proper and true a Filiation, as  
 that which belongs to *Christ*; whereas St. John  
 has declar'd him to be the only Begotten of the  
 Father, and to be God the Word, by whom all  
 Things were made: That therefore he is pro-  
 perly and substantially the Son of the Father,  
 tho the manner of his Generation be inscrutable,  
 as himself has told us; that no body has known  
 who the Son is, but the Father, and no body  
 has known the Father but the Son: And so again  
 the Prophet, when he ask'd, *Who shall declare  
 his Generation?* that he being the Wisdom and  
 Word of God must be incapable of Increase or  
 Improvement, much more of Diminution or  
 Degeneracy, according to that of the Apostle,  
 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15. That Christ cannot be an  
 adoptive Son, as Angels and Men, because he  
 challenges Adoration; That he is prov'd to be  
 substantially and properly the Son of God from  
 Rom. vii. 32. from St. Mat. iii. 17, &c. xvii. 5.  
 St. Mark i. 11. St. Luke iii. 22. St. John i. 18.  
 Psal. ii. 7. Psal. cx. 3. and from St. John v. 23.  
 and x. 30. and xiv. 9. That the titular or adop-  
 tive Sons of God are represented under another  
 Character, as Beings that either had been or  
 were probationally Candidates for so great a  
 Title, and in their Nature liable to Change  
 and Degeneracy, particularly Gen. vi. 2. and  
 Isa. i. 2. That these new Hereticks were



' the Succours as it were, sprouting from the  
 ' Stump and Root of the old ones, *Ebion* and *Ar-*  
 ' *temas*, and *Paulus Samosatenus*, and *Lucian* :  
 ' That there were three Bishops in *Syria* who  
 ' strangely patroniz'd and encourag'd these People,  
 ' tho they were of themselves so outrageously pre-  
 ' sumptuous as to vent those Blasphemies against the  
 ' Son of God, which the Devils themselves durst  
 ' not so much as murmur ; and not only to insult  
 ' and calumniate himself and his Flock, but to de-  
 ' spise and over-rule the Judgment and Authority  
 ' of his Collegues in general, of the antient Fa-  
 ' thers, nay and the most clear, expresse Determi-  
 ' nation of the holy Scriptures themselves : That  
 ' they represented the *Catholicks* as asserting  
 ' two uncreated Beings, not considering that ob-  
 ' vious Distinction between Generation and Crea-  
 ' tion ; and that the Father, as being *not begotten*,  
 ' is declar'd by the Son to be greater than himself,  
 ' as being *Begotten* ; nor remembring that *he who*  
 ' *loveth the Father loveth the Son, who is begotten of*  
 ' *him* : That therefore he and his Brethren had  
 ' depos'd and anathematiz'd *Arius* and his Asso-  
 ' ciates, particularly and by Name *Achillas*, *Eu-*  
 ' *zoius*, *Aithalas*, *Lucius*, *Sarmates*, *Julius*, *Me-*  
 ' *nas*, another *Arius* and *Helladius* ; and desir'd the  
 ' Sentence might be approv'd and confirm'd by all  
 ' his Collegues, as it had been so generally alrea-  
 ' dy by the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Thebais*, of *Libya*,  
 ' *Pentapolis*, *Syria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Asia*, *Cappa-*  
 ' *docia*, and other neighbouring Provinces : And  
 ' lastly, he warn'd every Bishop against communi-  
 ' cating with the Persons condemn'd, whatever  
 ' Letters they should produce, or Pretences they  
 ' might urge.

But to return. While these things were trans-  
 acting, the *Arian* Faction grew yet stronger by the  
 Accession of another Party to them. For the *Mele-*  
*tians*, a Body of Schismatics headed by one *Mele-*  
*rius* a disgusted *Egyptian* Bishop, under whose Ban-  
 ner *Arius* had formerly list'd himself and been  
 excommunicated for it, but recanted ; in their  
 Turns came over to *Arius* : And both their Par-  
 ties

ties joining issue, became so united afterwards, that the Name of *Meletians* was swallow'd up in that of *Arians*.

The Affairs of the *Christian* World being thus miserably embarras'd, and the Peace of the Church so generally disturb'd, without any Prospekt of being restor'd to its former Tranquillity, without the Interposition of a superior Power; because neither Party would yield to the other: For *Alexander* insisted upon the synodical Sentence against *Arius*, &c. till they should submit themselves to the Church and recant their Errors; and on the other hand, *Arius* appeal'd to those Bishops he had reason to think entertain'd the same Opinions and Designs as himself: At last the Emperor interpos'd his Good Offices to make up the Breach and procure a Reconciliation.

Socrat. l. i. c. 4.

To this end, the Emperor sent for the pious and learned *Hosius*, Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, a venerable Confessor and great Favourite of his own, whom he delegated to *Alexandria*, with healing Letters of Accommodation, directed to *Alexander* the Bishop and to *Arius*; who by this time was return'd into *Egypt*, and had muster'd a Party sufficient to defend him against any Violence, that might possibly be design'd.

Socrat. ib.

The Substance of the Imperial Letters was this:  
 ' That the Emperor understood that the Division  
 ' which had happen'd between them and their  
 ' respective Adherents, was the Consequence of an  
 ' unnecessary Question on the part of *Alexander*,  
 ' and of an unwary Answer on the part of  
 ' *Arius*: That it was a very dangerous Tryal of  
 ' Skill to begin a Dispute upon Matters of that  
 ' Nature, especially so publickly, the Generality  
 ' of People being so little qualify'd to apprehend  
 ' the right meaning, or to pass a true Judgment of  
 ' them; besides the Weakness and Deceivableness  
 ' of the Disputants themselves, all which must nat-  
 ' urally end either in Blasphemy, or Schism:  
 ' That it was their Duty by mutual Agreement,  
 ' and all ingenuous Retractions, to quit the Dispute,  
 ' concurring, as he conceiv'd they did, in the Fun-  
 ' damentals

Park, Abrid. vol.

2. P. 24.

'damentals of Religion; and for the future by no  
 ' means to pursue such nice and subtle Enquiries,  
 ' which must necessarily weaken their Authority,  
 ' and hinder them in the Discharge of their Office :  
 ' That the Philosophers of the *Gentiles*, as great  
 ' a Variety of Sects and Opinions as there was a-  
 ' mong them, held all close together in a common  
 ' Fellowship and general Interest ; much more  
 ' that the Priests of the most High God were ob-  
 ' lig'd to do so : That they ought to beware of  
 ' wounding and rending the Church, by their lit-  
 ' tle metaphysical Distinctions and Dissensions :  
 ' That seeing they were both of the same Re-  
 ' ligion and the same Faith, nicer Speculations  
 ' and Scruples ought not to keep them asunder ;  
 ' or however, if they could not reconcile their  
 ' Notions between themselves, that at least they  
 ' should keep them to themselves, live again in  
 ' perfect Charity and Friendship with one another,  
 ' and re-unite themselves and the distracted Peo-  
 ' ple of God, in brotherly Love and Christian  
 ' Communion : That this was the Desire of his  
 ' Soul : That Night or Day he should never rest  
 ' till he could obtain it : That the News of their  
 ' Divisions had stop'd his Purpose of coming among  
 ' them, and that it lay in their Power as soon as  
 ' they pleas'd, to bring him to them by becoming  
 ' unanimous and easy, and affectionate to one a-  
 ' nother ; and by giving him an Opportunity up-  
 ' on his Arrival, of joining his Praises with theirs  
 ' to God, for the Re-establishment of their Peace  
 ' and Unity.'

Socrat. l. i. c. 4.

Dn Pin Cent. 4.

Socrat. l. 3. c. 7.

These Letters being inscrib'd from *Constantine*  
 the *puissant*, the *mighty* and *noble* Emperor ; one  
 would have thought might have had some Influ-  
 ence upon them ; especially considering how much  
 Interest governs the World in such Affairs at this  
 time : But they had none other Effect than this,  
 that a Council was called and held in the City of  
*Alexandria*, by *Hosius* ; in which we have an ac-  
 count, that the Terms of *Substance* and *Hypostasis*  
 were treated of, in opposition to *Sabellius* : That  
*Colluthus*, a pretended Bishop, was degraded, and  
 the

the Ordinations which he made annull'd. But we do not find that any thing was determined in relation to the Affair of *Alexander* and *Arius*. Yet it is probable, that the wise Bishop of *Corduba* did what he could to reconcile Mens Minds, and not being able to compass his Designs, as the learned *Du Pin* observes, he would decide nothing : *Du Pin Cent.* And so return'd *re infecta*, without any Success, to the Emperor.

It happen'd much about the same time, that another unhappy Dispute was rais'd in the *Eastern* Churches, concerning the time of celebrating the Festival of *Easter* ; some asserting, that it ought to be kept according to the *Jewish* Calendar, viz. on the 14th Day of the Moon of *March*, whatever Day of the Week it fell upon : While others maintain'd, that it should never be celebrated but on a *Sunday*, the Day of our Saviour's Resurrection ; and upon that account expected till the first *Sunday* after the 14th Day of that Moon, before they kept it. And this Dispute also, however little and inconsiderable in respect of the Matter contended for, was carried on with a great deal of Heat and Animosity on both sides, tho it did not proceed to a breach of Communion. And here again *Hosius* was commission'd by the Emperor to settle this Affair also, tho he succeeded no better in it than in the other ; which occasion'd no small Trouble and Concern to the Emperor, as well as Inquietude and Disturbance to the Empire. Upon which, effectually to put an end to this Malady of Opinions, and cure both these Evils at once, if it could be done, the Emperor resolv'd to call a *General Council* : And having taken this Resolution, he accordingly sent out his Imperial Letters, to summon Bishops from all Parts and Provinces of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia*, to attend it.

Socrat. l. i. c. 5.

Socrat. ib.

Park. Abrid.

The Place appointed for the meeting of this Council being the City of *Nice*, all necessary Preparations were made for the Reception of so venerable a Body ; and indeed, not only venerable, but numerous : For there came to this Assembly, besides

Euseb. de. Vit.  
Const. l. 9.



besides a very great Appearance of Bishops from all Parts, of Presbyters, Deacons, Acolyths, &c. an innumerable Company: All whose Expences were liberally supply'd out of the Emperor's Treasury. But besides those of the Clergy, there were many others, Disputants and Orators, who likewise attended.

Socrat. l. i. c. 5.

Du Pin Cent. 4.

See Note on Du Pin p. 251. Cent. 4.

*SYLVESTER* Bishop of *Rome*, and Successor to *Miltiades*, was not there in Person, being detain'd by Old Age; but then he was represented by the Presbyters he delegated; as were also several others, that were retarded by Age, or other Infirmities. However, 'tis commonly held, and we have the Authority of *St. Athanasius*, *St. Hilary*, *Ruffinus*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Epiphanius* for it, that this Council consisted of 318 Bishops. But yet concerning this, there is some difference among Writers: For *Eusebius* says, there were more than 250; and *Eustathius*, 270, or thereabouts: But neither of them determine the exact Number.

Du Pin Cent. 4.

Euf. de. Vit.

Const. l. 3. c. 10.

Against the time, the Emperor had order'd a large Apartment in the Palace, to be fitted up for their Session; with a Throne at the upper end for himself; and Seats for all the rest, to repose themselves on.

When all the Bishops, and others that could be expected, if they would come at all, to this grand Assembly, were arrived at *Nice*; even before their Session, the deadly Leven of their old Malice began to shew it self among some of them:

Socrat. l. i. c. 5.

For several of the Bishops, the very Day before their meeting, presented Libels to the Emperor, wherein they accused one another. And this might have proved of very disturbing Consequence to that Body, had not the Prudence of the Emperor awarded it. As those Libels were deliver'd to him, he receiv'd them, seal'd them up, and commanded they should be kept till a more convenient Season. When the Business of the Council was over, and Peace and Unity establish'd among the Members of it, then, and not till then, he re-produced them; and committing them

Theod. l. i. c. 11.

to

to the Flames without opening, declar'd, upon Council I. his Royal Word, That he had never lookt into any one of 'em; adding withal, *That the Faults of the Clergy ought not to be too publickly exposed, lest the Vulgar taking Offence thereby, might indulge themselves in a liberty to Sin.* *Ibid.*

But besides this, there was another Circumstance might have done great Mischief; for, on that same Day, the very Day before the Council was to meet, and which was the fixed Day for the publick and decisive Tryal of *Arius*, the Bishops summon'd him, in order to a stating of the Case: And here very angry Debates arose among them; some asserting, that the Faith which had been receiv'd from the Beginning, ought not to be perplexed by useles Questions and Disputations; while others contended that the Opinions of the Antients were not implicitly to be follow'd without due Examination. The latter was defended by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, and *Maris* of *Chalcedon*: Against whom *Athanasius*, then but Deacon of the Church of *Alexandria*, made a vigorous Opposition, and carried his Point. *Socrat. l. i. c. 5.*

At this time also, the Rhetoricians and Masters of the School, that were in the *Arian* Faction, made it their Business to blow the Coals, by objecting Preliminaries of Disputation first to be settled: which in all likelihood had put the Council into a Flame, had they not been silenced by a Layman, who told them, That our Saviour and his Apostles never taught their Followers the Art and Fallacies of Logick; but with an open and plain Mind to maintain the Truth, with a due Regard always had to the Efficacy of Faith, and the Necessity of Good Works. *Socrat. ib.*

Upon the Day appointed for the determination of this great Affair, the Bishops came in Procession to the Emperor's Palace; and having entred the Council-Hall, were immediately followed by the Emperor himself, whose Deference and Veneration to those Holy Fathers was such, he would not seat himself, till the Bishops had given him a Sign; which upon his Majesty's Application to them that they should, they did. *Socrat. l. i. c. 5.* When

Theod. 1. 1. c. 7. When the Emperor seated himself, the Bishops also sat down at the same Instant; and Silence being commanded, *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* opened the Council, in a Speech addressed to the Emperor for that Purpose.

Proclus & Facundus.

Du Pin Cent. 4.

Prid. Intr. Hist.

'See Note on Du Pin Cent. 4. P. 251.

Park. Abridg.

Euseb. de Vir. Const. 1. 3. c. 12.

From this Circumstance some Writers are of Opinion that *Eustathius* was the President of this great Council; but others differ very much from them. Mr. *Du Pin* says it is not certainly known who presided in this Council, but that probably it was *Hosius*; but Dr. *Prideaux* is more positive, and says it was actually he: And indeed several Reasons may be given for his Assertion. St. *Athanasius* calls *Hosius* the Father and President of all Councils, and his Name is the first in all the Subscriptions of this Council: Then again *Hosius* had already taken cognizance of this Affair, and was much esteem'd by the Emperor, who was there present; which is no small Motive to conclude that the Council complimented him with that Honour upon that account.

When *Eustathius* had ended, *Eusebius* also, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, made an Oration; addressing himself in like manner to the Emperor. That done, the Emperor began, directing himself to the whole Council. In it he exhorted them to Unanimity and a right Understanding among themselves, considering how great a Reflection the contrary Deportment would bring upon the Christian Profession: And having largely expatiated upon the Blessing they might expect from a peaceable Disposition and an exact Harmony of Tempers, he recommended to them earnestly to apply their utmost Endeavours to the Business before them, and to make such Solutions and Decisions of the Matters in Controversy as should be most agreeable to their own Consciences, and the Supreme Rule of Faith, contain'd in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

This was the Sum and Substance of *Constantine's* Oration to the Council, according to *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, &c. But *Ruffinus* says there was something more, and more remarkable than any

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any thing yet mention'd; which as it comes from Council I. the Learned Mr. Parker's Observations, and is not perhaps very commonly to be met with, the Reader may be pleas'd to take in his very Words, and with his Remark upon it. It is in his Note upon the Ecclesiastical History of *Socrates* abridg'd, Park. Abridg. vol. 2. P. 29. p. 29.

Here, says Mr. Parker, I think my self oblig'd to insert what, according to *RUFFINUS*, He, *i. e. Constantine*, told them besides, on this Occasion. *Deus vos constituit Sacerdotes, & potestatem vobis dedit de nobis quoque judicandi, &c.* God has Constituted and Ordained you his Priests, and has invested you with Authority to pass Judgment (*in Spirituals*) even upon Us; and accordingly we ought to submit ourselves, and we do so to your Judgment. And since you stand exempt (*in your Spiritual Capacity*) from the Judgment of all the World besides, You are referr'd to God himself, and your Differences left to be decided by him. For he has sent You to Us with the Character of Gods; and it were absurd that the Concerns of Gods should be brought before any Human Power, or indeed into any other Judicatory than that of God, who, as he had said, stands in the Congregation of Princes, and is a Judge among Gods. And therefore laying aside these Disputes, You are to settle Matters of Faith, and that with all good Temper and Meekness." This, Mr. Parker remarks, is a most valuable Monument and ample Testimony of that Fundamental Doctrine, the Independency of the Church, in her Spirituals, on the secular Power; especially as it comes not only from one of the best and greatest of Princes, but from an Universal Monarch, and the first Christian Emperor. But to proceed with the Affairs of this Council.

The Emperor had concluded his Exhortation, Du Pin Cent. 4. when the Council immediately betook themselves to the business of *Arius*, Who being call'd before them, explain'd and defended his Opinions according



Euseb. de Vir.  
Const. l. 3. c. 13.

ding to his Explication. Whereupon Propositions in abundance were advanc'd on either Side, and notwithstanding all the Emperor had said to recommend Peace and Unity among them, Disputes ran very high, and had certainly ended in Confusion, if the Presence of *Constantine* had not restrain'd, and his Prudence moderated and cool'd their Heat.

*Ibid.*

During the time of these furious Debates the Emperor carry'd himself with abundance of Calmness and seeming Indifference, attending to their Arguments with an uncommon Patience; and sometimes interposing his own Opinion in the Matter.

*Ibid.*

Amidst the Jargon and Clashing of such incompatible Opinions, it was a very difficult Business how to manage, and to hold the Scales so even, as that neither Party might be disgusted: But yet he did it, to the Satisfaction of all, or however of a very great Majority. For, as he inclin'd to them in his own Mind, he could not but approve, and sometimes commend those that were strictly Orthodox in their Notions: And of those who were not, some he moderated, gently softening the Harshness of their Expressions; some he won by his Courtesy; and others he overcame by Dint of Argument, which he temper'd with so much Candour and Condescension, that it was a Satisfaction to the more Ingenuous to be overcome by him.

*Ibid.*

By this Variety of winning Ways *Constantine* had at last sway'd the main Body of the Council, and brought them to such a Unity in Opinion, in relation to the controverted Points before them, that they did not only agree in Matters of Faith, but also about one certain Time for the Celebration of the Feast of *Easter*; and their Determinations were recorded, and almost unanimously subscrib'd by them.

But before they came to this full Agreement and Unanimity, some Circumstances happen'd which are worthy notice. *Arius* had already been condemn'd, together with his Heretical

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Doctrines in relation to our Blessed Saviour: The Council had concluded his Positions to be all wrong, but they had not yet determined what the genuine and Orthodox Sense of the Church was as to that Point, and what every Christian ought to hold and profess: And that was thought necessary to be done. For this end a Confession of Faith was drawn up and presented to the Council by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Casarea*; but finding that it did not enough reject the Error of the *Arians*, it was faulted by the majority of the Council, who pressed the Bishops of the *Arian* Party to make a clearer Profession of the Divinity of the Son of God. But this was a Task they could not well relish, and therefore not only evaded it, but by far-fetch'd Explications eluded all the other Terms, which the other Bishops had used to dignify the Divinity of the Son of God. Whereupon the Council were forced (to avoid all Ambiguity) to assert that the Son of God was *Consubstantial* to his Father. But this was a Term not to be born by the *Arians* at first; the very mention of it threw them into their former Heats, and it is a Question whether the Orthodox could have ever got it to be inserted, notwithstanding that the Emperor palliated the Sense of it as much as possible, if their Numbers had not been too powerful. However, at last it was inserted and agreed to, and the Confession of Faith made by this Council was publish'd in that Form of Words in which it is express'd in a former Part of this Work, to which the Reader is refer'd.

That Confession of Faith was signed by all the Bishops, but *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*, and *Theonas* of *Marmarica*; *Eusebius* also of *Casarea* refus'd to sign it at first, but upon better Thought, he complied the next Day, as Mr. *Du Pin* asserts. But tho that Author names no more that were Non-Compliers for any Time, but the two Bishops of *Marmarica* and *Ptolemais*, *Socrates* names three others, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, and *Maris* of *Chalcedon*; and of the three last *Valesius* tells us that tho at length they subscrib'd the

Du Pin Cent. 43

Socrat. l. 1. c. 53

Vol. 13

Du Pin Cent. 43

Socrat. l. 1. c. 53

Val. Nor. ad Soz.  
l. 1. c. 21.

the Creed, they could not be brought to approve the Sentence against *Arius*.

Park. Abridg.

Some Writers tell us that there were twelve others that dissented for some Time; but the Emperor threatning to punish all such as oppos'd the Determination of the Council with Banishment, they all came in before the rising of the Council, except *Secundus* and *Theonas*, who underwent the same Fate with *Arius*: They were condemned in the Council, and sentenc'd to perpetual Exile by the Emperor.

Id. ibid.

The Council having come to this Conclusion with *Arius*, and all others of his Faith, (for the *Anathema* extended even to them also) it remain'd to be consider'd what Course was to be taken with the *Meletians*. The *Meletians*, tho they communicated with the *Arians*, they did not so openly and pertinaciously maintain the *Arian* Doctrines; and for that Reason the Council did not think fit to pass so severe a Sentence upon them as upon the *Arians*. However some Mark of Displeasure was to be put upon them also: Wherefore as *Meletius* a Bishop had been the Ringleader of that Party, the Council resolv'd that as for his Person he might be permitted to continue in the City, and to retain the Name of a Bishop, with the Honour annexed to that Office; but without the Power of Ordination for the future. And as for those of the Clergy whom he had ordain'd, it was determined they should retain the Rank, Honour and Office to which they had been initiated by him, only with this *Proviso*, that they should be confirmed by a more sacred Imposition of Hands; which Mr. *Du Pin* calls a Re-ordination: And that even after that they should be esteem'd inferior to such as had been ordain'd by *Alexander*, and utterly incapable of voting in an Election for Bishops; tho this did not hinder but that any of them, being found worthy, might be promoted to that Dignity, being lawfully chosen by the Clergy and People, with the Consent of the Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Theod. l. 2. c. 9.

Do Pin Cent. 4.

These

These Points being happily concluded, the third and last momentous Matter of Controversy was brought upon the Carpet, viz. The Dispute about the keeping of the *Easter* Festival. And here, it was presently resolv'd that the Unity and Peace of the Church was to be preserv'd; and for that end, it was expedient that what was universally allow'd to be done, as the Celebration of *Easter* was, should be uniformly done, for avoiding Schisms in the Church: so that now there remain'd nothing to be debated on this Subject, but whether the *Eastern* Churches should yield to the *Western*, or the *Western* to those of the *East*; and whether the Rule of the *Jewish* Calendar, or of the *Western* Churches, was to be observ'd. And here, tho several Arguments were used on the contrary Part, those for the *Western* Custom were the most weighty, and prevail'd most with the Council. The Reasons for which they rejected the Usage of the *Jewish* Calendar were these: That it was improper for *Christians* to be directed by the Usage of that very People, who had crucify'd their Saviour: That the Custom of keeping the Feast of *Easter* on the *Sunday* had already obtain'd more universally, in all the *Western*, *Southern*, and *Northern* Parts of the World; and in some of the *Eastern* too; and that the other Custom was disagreeable with the Practice and Prescription of the earliest times of Christianity. And these Arguments prevailing without much difficulty, a Decree was made that this Feast should be celebrated only on the *Sunday*.

The great Points for which this Holy Council had been conven'd, being thus happily over, it was resolv'd that an Epistle should be sent to the Church of *Alexandria*, and all the *Christians* of *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, to let them understand the Transactions of it. This Epistle was directed from the whole Council, and inform'd them, in the Name of all the Bishops assembled at *Nice*, That they had anathematiz'd *Arius's* Blasphemies, and his impious Terms and Phrases; that *Arius* had receiv'd his Condemnation and Sentence, as also had *Theonas* of *Marmarica* and

See Ep. of Const.  
to the Churches,  
Soc. l. i. c. 6.

Park. Abridg.  
vol. 2. p. 35.



*Secundus of Prolemais*: That they had depriv'd *Meletius* of his Episcopal Authority, reserving barely the Title to him, and confining him to the City where he had been Bishop: That as for others whom he had consecrated or ordain'd in his Schism, they had decreed their Consecrations and Ordinations should be confirm'd by the Imposition of *Catholick* Hands, before they should be receiv'd to Communion; that then they should be reckon'd valid, but withal that such Bishops, Priests and Deacons should remain inferiour ever after in Place and Honour to all such Bishops, &c. as had receiv'd their Ordinations from *Alexander*, and have Power to transact nothing without their Consent; but that nevertheless they should be capable of being elected into their Places as they became vacant, provided the Bishop of *Alexandria* should think fit to confirm the Election: That they had put an end to the Dispute concerning the Celebration of *Easter*, and that the *Eastern* Churches were for the future to observe it at the same time with the *Western*.

See Socrat. l. 1. c. 6.

That Epistle of the Council was seconded by another of the Emperor's to the same Church, in which he congratulated their Rescue from those Heresies that had given them so much Disturbance, and assured them that he should look upon the Decisions of that Council, as the Determination of God himself; for which Reason he required them to acquiesce in them, and become perfectly unanimous among themselves.

Socrat. l. 1. c. 6.

But besides this, there is one more remarkable Epistle of the Emperor's to the *Catholick* Church, the Substance of which one cannot forbear to insert, tho it does not so immediately relate to the *Nicene* Council. In this Epistle he oblig'd the *Catholicks* to fix the Name of *Porphyrians* upon *Arius* and his Followers; and to prevent the Infections descending to Posterity, he commanded all Persons that had any of his Compositions in their Hands to burn them, at the Peril of forfeiting their Lives, if they conceal'd them. But this by the by, only to shew what a truly *Christian* Prince

Prince could do, for the Conservation of Religion, and to secure the Peace and Unity of the Church. Council I.

To return therefore to the more immediate Transactions of the Council of *Nice*, and those wherein the Fathers of that Synod were more particularly concern'd.

Having thus determined the Differences which troubled the Church, they proceeded to make some Rules for the Discipline of it, which were called *Canons*. Of these, this *Nicene* Council compos'd only 20 according to *Theodoret*, tho *Rufinus* makes them 22, but that is by splitting two of them to make up that Number: So that in Truth he own'd no more than the 20, of which we have an Account in Mr. *Du Pin's* Ecclesiastical History, with which it cannot be improper, in this Place, to oblige the Reader.

' The 1st excludes from Sacred Orders all such as had made themselves Eunuchs; but not such as became so by Sickness, or were made by the Cruelty of Barbarians.' Du Pin, Cent. 4.  
P. 252.

' The 2d forbids to advance Persons newly baptiz'd to the Orders of Priest or Bishop, and ordains that those who shall be convicted of any Crime, shall be depriv'd of their Ecclesiastical Functions.'

' The 3d forbids Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and other Clergymen, to keep Women in the House with them; yet it excepts Mothers, Sisters and other Persons, of whom there can be no bad Suspicion.'

' The 4th ordains, That a Bishop should be ordain'd by all the Bishops of the Province, if it can be done; if not, by three Bishops with the Consent of the rest: but it adds, that the Validity of what is done in the Province depends upon the Metropolitan.'

' The 5th ordains, That none of those who shall be separated from the Church by the Bishops in each Province, can be receiv'd or restored to Communion in any other Place: And that enquiry be the better made, whether their Bishop

‘ has justly excommunicated them, they ordain,  
 ‘ That two Synods shall be held every Year in  
 ‘ every Province, one before *Lent*, and the other  
 ‘ in *Autumn*.

‘ The 6th Canon is famous for the several Questions it has occasion’d. The most natural Sense that can be given to it is this: ‘ We ordain, That  
 ‘ the antient Custom shall be observ’d, which gives  
 ‘ Power to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, over all the  
 ‘ Provinces of *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, because the Bishop of *Rome* has the like Jurisdiction  
 ‘ over all the Suburbicary Regions (for this Addition must be supplied out of *Ruffinus* :) We  
 ‘ would likewise have the Rights and Privileges of  
 ‘ the Church of *Antioch*, and the other Churches,  
 ‘ preserv’d; but these Rights ought not to prejudice those of the Metropolitans. If any one is ordain’d without the Consent of the Metropolitan,  
 ‘ the Council declares, That he is no Bishop: But  
 ‘ if any one is canonically chosen by the Suffrage  
 ‘ of almost all the Bishops of the Province, and if  
 ‘ there are but one or two of a contrary Opinion,  
 ‘ the Suffrages of the far greater Number ought to  
 ‘ carry it for the Ordination of those particular  
 ‘ Persons.’ And thus much for the Sense of the Canon: Upon which Mr. *Du Pin* remarks; That as it does not oppose the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, so neither does it establish it: That it preserves to Great Sees their Antient Privileges, *i. e.* the Jurisdiction or Authority which they had over many Provinces, which was afterwards call’d the Jurisdiction of the Patriarch or Exarch. And in this Sense, he says, it is, that it compares the Church of *Rome* to the Church of *Alexandria*, by considering them all as Patriarchal Churches. It continues also to the Church of *Antioch*, and all the other Great Churches, whatsoever Rights they could have; but lest their Authority should be prejudicial to the Ordinary Metropolitans, who were subject to their Jurisdiction, the Council confirms what had been ordain’d in the fourth Canon concerning the Authority of Metropolitans in the Ordination of Bishops.

‘ The

‘ The 7th is, That since by antient Tradition the Church of *Elias*, or of *Jerusalem*, has been honoured, this Prerogative of Honour shall be continued to it, but without Prejudice to the Rights of the Metropolis.’

‘ The 8th declares, That the *Novatians* who return to the Church, may continue in the Clergy, after they have receiv’d Imposition of Hands, and made Profession of following the Discipline of the Church. That if a *Novation* Bishop in a City, where there is a Catholick Bishop, return to the Church, he shall not take the Place of the Catholick Bishop, but continue in the Presbytery, unless the Catholick Bishop will allow him the Name of a Bishop: But if he will not, this *Novatian* Bishop shall continue Priest or Suffragan.’

‘ The 9th and 10th ordain, That those Priests shall be degraded, who are found either to have sacrificed, or to have been guilty of other Crimes before their Ordination.’

‘ The 11th imposes a Penance of Ten Years upon those who voluntarily renounce the Christian Religion, without being forced, either by the Loss of their Estate, or Danger of their Life.’

‘ The 12th imposes Thirteen Years Penance upon those who apostatiz’d for an Office: Yet it permits that Penance to be shorten’d upon great Signs of Repentance.’

‘ The 13th ordains, That dying Persons shall not be depriv’d of Absolution; but upon Condition that if they recover, they shall be placed in the Rank of those who are present only at the Prayers of the Church.’ This Canon leaves it at the Discretion of the Bishop to give or refuse the Communion to dying Persons who desire it.

‘ The 14th puts those Catechumens, who apostatiz’d when they were ready to receive Baptism, into the Place of Hearers, for three Years.’



'The 15th forbids the Translation of Bishops and Priests, and ordains, That those who shall be translated, shall return to their first Church.'

'The 16th forbids the receiving of Priests, Deacons or Ministers of another Church, without the Consent of their Bishop.'

'The 17th ordains, That Clergymen who are Usurers, or who take sordid Gain, shall be deposed.'

'The 18th forbids Deacons to give the Eucharist to Priests, or to take the Eucharist before the Bishops; as also to sit in the Place of Priests, and threatens those who do not obey this Rule with Deprivation of their Ministry.'

'The 19th ordains the *Paulianists* who return to the Church to be re-baptiz'd and re-ordain'd.'

'The last Canon abolishes the Custom of some Churches wherein they kneeled on *Sunday* and *Whit-Sunday*; and ordains, for keeping Uniformity, that they shall pray to God standing at this time in all Churches.'

These were all the Determinations and Decrees, at least all that are esteem'd *Authentick*, of this famous and holy *Nicene Council*; which being copied in Form and presented to the Emperor, he receiv'd the Determination against *Arius* particularly, *with great Reverence as the Act of God; and solemnly declar'd, whosoever should presume to withstand it, he would send him into Banishment for opposing himself against God's Decree.* 'Not that

Ruffin. l. 1, c. 5.

Park. not. upon  
Socrat. p. 36.

it was an infallible Determination, as Mr. Parker observes; but because, being found agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, it had been promulg'd and ratified by the Sacred Authority of a General Council.'

Du Pin Cent. 4.

Thus ended this First and most Glorious General Council, having sat about two Months, when *Constantine* gave the Bishops a noble Entertainment, loaded them with Presents; and having very pathetically exhorted them to Unity among themselves, dismiss'd them every one to his own Home.

Of



Of the Second General Council, commonly  
call'd the First Council of CONSTANTINOPLE.

**T**HE Second General Council since the Times of Christianity, was held at *Constantinople*, under the Reign, and by the Command of *Theodosius the Great*, tho' the Year is not certainly agreed among Historians; some asserting that it was in the Year 383, while others place it in 385: But Mr. *Du Pin* differs from them all; for he seems to make it a Year earlier than the earliest of them, viz. 382: But this admits of some doubt, as we shall see by and by.

The occasion of calling this Council, was much the same with that for calling the *Nicene*, viz. To curb the Insolence of the *Arians*, by a Ratification of the holy *Nicene* Confession, and to ordain a Bishop into the See of *Constantinople*, from whence *Gregory of Nazianzum* was resolv'd to depart.

The glorious Council of *Nice* indeed, near 60 Years before, had knock'd down *Arianism* by a definitive Sentence; as it were, laid it sprawling and almost breathless for some time: But many Years had not pass'd before it began to revive, lift up its Head and appear openly, by the Encouragement of some succeeding Emperors; and some say, even by the Countenance of *Constantine* himself, in his latter Years: For *Socrates* tells us, that he was wrought upon by his Sister *Constantia*, to recall *Arius* and his Party from Banishment, upon pretence that they had been undeservedly sentenc'd by the *Nicene* Council: And *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, the main Supporter of that Herefy, is said to have baptiz'd him but a little before his Death.

See Prid. ib.

By means of the Princess *Constantia*, the Emperor *Constantius*, who succeeded his Father in the Eastern Empire, was drawn over to *Arianism*; and became so great a Patron of it, that a certain Father says, The whole World groan'd under the pressure of that Heresy, from the Countenance he gave it.

See Prid. Intr. p. 206, &c.

From that time to the Reign of *Theodosius* the Great, *Arianism* met with but very little Discouragement. *Julian*, who succeeded *Constantius*, was a Prince of any or no Religion: *Jovian* was for Liberty of Conscience: *Valentinian* was Orthodox, but he reign'd not long in the East; for he resign'd the Eastern Empire to *Valens*, who was a furious *Arian*, and a bitter Persecuter of those who dissented from him: And *Gratian*, who succeeded him, and whose Colleague *Theodosius* afterwards was, in the beginning of his Reign had granted a Toleration to all Sorts and Parties of Men, the *Eunomians*, *Phasinians* and *Manichees* only excepted.

Park. Abrid.  
Vol. 3. p. 122.

What the Fruits of such a Licence were, it is easy to conclude from our own Times. From such an Impunity it is no wonder if an Inundation of Heresies ensued, and got ground upon the Church, which indeed they did; insomuch that not only all the Churches at *Constantinople* were in their Possession, but the *Arians* had all the Churches of the East to themselves, *Jerusalem* only excepted.

Id. p. 124.

This Indulgence of *Gratian's* animated also several other Sects to appear in publick, and openly profess their Principles: The *Anomeans*, *Eudoxians*, *Semi-Arians*, *Marcellians*, *Apollinarists*, *Sabbarians*, *Novarians*, the *Quartodecimani*, and the *Macedonians*, were among these. The *Macedonians* in particular were grown so bold by this Liberty, that tho' they had communicated with the *Cartholicks* for some Years, they threw off their Disguise, and in a Meeting at *Amioch* in *Asia*, they renounced the *Consabstantials*, and all Communion with the Professors of it.

Id. ibid.

This

This was the unhappy State of the Church, Council II when *Theodosius* return'd victorious from the *Bar-* *barians*, against whom both *Gratian* and himself Soc. l. 5. c. 7. had been personally engag'd in War, and arriv'd at *Constantinople*. Being there, within two Days after his Arrival, he resolv'd to make a Reformation in the Churches of that City; and accordingly the first thing he did, was to eject the *Arians* out of them, after forty Years Usurpation. But before he did this, he sent for *Demophilus*, an *Arian* Bishop, in whose Possession they were, and required him to embrace the *Nicene* Faith; which when he refus'd to do, the Emperor told him, *Since he was thus resolv'd to keep Peace and Unity* Id. ibid. *out of God's House, he should be shut out of it himself.*

But tho the *Arians* met with these Discouragements under *Theodosius*, it did not prevent the Propagation of their Principles: For what they might not do within the Walls, because of the higher Powers, they did without, with as much Frequency and more Vehemency than ever. They met in Bodies without the City, held Conventicles, had their publick Debates and Conferences: Neither were they destitute of Friends at Court, who endeavour'd to play their old Game, using all their Endeavours to pervert the Emperor. And this they continued to do till *Theodosius* broke their Conventions by the Terror of a Penal Law, which he was prevail'd upon to publish by means of *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium*. The Story is remarkable, and therefore deserves Notice.

The good Bishop *Amphilochius* had before solli- Theod. l. 5. c. cited the Expulsion of the *Arians* from the City; 16. but the Emperor could not be brought to assent to it, as thinking that Treatment of them too severe: Whereupon *Amphilochius* dissembled the Matter for a while; till being one Day at Court among several other Bishops (when *Arcadius* the Emperor's Son, then newly created Emperor, was standing by his Father) he thought it a proper Opportunity to let the Emperor know his Resentments,



Park. *Ab. id.* vol.  
3. P. 135.

ments, which he did in this manner. The other Bishops having first saluted *Theodosius*, according to custom saluted *Arcadius* also: But when it came to *Amphilochius's* Turn, he indeed paid the accustomed Respect to the Father, but without any manner of Application to the Son, [Some say he came negligently up to him, and chucking him under the Chin, said in plain Language, *Child, God bless you;*] Which the Emperor so much resented, that he took it as an Affront done to himself, and order'd that saucy old Man out of his sight. Whereupon *Amphilochius* requested his Majesty to consider, *Whether God the Father was not equally displeased with those, who denied that Honour and Worship to the Son which they paid to himself.* This sudden Reprimand of the Bishop's was so surprising, that the Emperor own'd himself convinc'd of what he ought to do thereby, and immediately order'd an Edict to be published against all heretical Conventicles for the future.

*Id. ib.*

Soon after this the Emperor determined to call a Council to ratify the *Nicene* Confession, and ordain a Bishop of *Constantinople*, as has been observ'd before. But that was not the only Design he had in view. The *Macedonians*, who denied the Consubstantiality of the Son, but yet allow'd him to be like the Father in all Things, and asserted the Holy Ghost to be a Creature; were grown a very spreading and pernicious Sect: Insomuch that the Emperor thought it expedient, if they could not be brought over by the Arguments of a Council, that they should be suppress'd by the Authority of it. To this end he summon'd a Council to meet in the City of *Constantinople*, to which all the Bishops of the *Macedonian* Sect were cited in particular.

See Bull. 1. 1. c.  
22. & Soc. 1. 5.  
c. 8.

In this Council *Prosper* says there were 180 Bishops present, tho *Socrates* and some others mention but 150. But when *Prosper* reckons 180, it is not improbable that he includes the *Macedonian* Bishops in that number, because they were summon'd as well as the Catholicks, and 36 of them appear'd. And what very much favours this Conjecture

Soc. *ib.*

Conjecture is this, That we find afterwards, that Council II. 150 Bishops were present at the Election of *Nectarius*, when the *Macedonian* Bishops were departed from *Constantinople*.

Among the Catholick Bishops who were present in this Council, Historians do particularly mention *Timothy* of *Alexandria*, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* (who was now come over to the Consubstantialists;) *Meletius* of *Antioch*, *Gregory Nazianzen* Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Ascholius* of *Thessalonica*, *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, *Acacius* of *Berea*, *Helladius* Successor to *St. Basil*, *Gregory Nyssen* *St. Basil's* Brother, *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, *Optimus* of *Pisidia*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, *Eulogius* of *Edesa*, *Isidore* of *Cyrus* in *Syria*, and *Gelasius* of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, very pious and learned Men, and great Luminaries of the Church. But of all these who was the President, or whether any of them was, is not certainly determined. Bishop *Prideaux* seems inclin'd to think it was *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*; But some others give us a different Account.

*Mr. Du Pin* tells us, That to understand the History of the Council of *Constantinople*, which is call'd the 2d General Council, we must distinguish three Assemblies of Bishops, held at *Constantinople* three Years successively. The First he says was held Anno 381, when *Gregory Nazianzen* was Bishop of that See, and confirm'd in it at that time by *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who presided in it, but died before the end of it.

A second Synod, as the same Author tells us, was held at *Constantinople* the Year following, in 382, at the beginning of it; when upon the Resignation of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Nectarius* was ordain'd Bishop of that See. And to this Synod, he says, the Canons and Creed of the General Council of *Constantinople* are attributed. But of this Assembly he names no President: And all he says farther of it is only this, That they receiv'd a Letter from the Western Bishops assembled at *Aquileia*, wherein they requir'd a General Council of the East and West, to be held at *Alexandria*; which the Eastern Bishops excus'd themselves from, by

by three Deputies sent into the *West* for that purpose, to acquaint them with their Desires of Peace, and to inform them of the Truth of their Doctrine.

Id. p. 272.

The third and last of these three Assemblies, he says, was in 383, and that *Nectarius* presided in it. But upon what Grounds he asserts this is uncertain, unless, perhaps, because some Authors say that the Emperor consulted *Nectarius* about calling one of the Councils which was held at *Constantinople* during the Reign of *Theodosius*; and that *Nectarius* was a principal Actor in it; he concludes therefore that he was President of it. In this Council, he says, that a Letter from the *Western* Bishops, in answer to the Message sent by their Deputies, was read, in which they pray'd that a General Council might be held at *Rome* to determin all Differences. In Replication to this the *Eastern* Bishops excus'd their Consent, urging the Necessity of their constant Attendance upon their respective Churches; and only gave them an Account of what they had ordain'd, and the Reasons of all their Proceedings. And this Council, that Author assures us, was the same mention'd by *Socrates*, l. 5. c. 10. in which the chief Bishops of all the Sects were present, to defend their own Opinions, and were all confounded by a single Question propounded by *Nectarius*, viz. *Whether they would refer themselves to the ancient Catholick Authors, who liv'd before the beginning of these Disputes?* But yet whether the seven Canons attributed to the first General Council of *Constantinople* were made by this Assembly, or by any one of the former, or some by one some by another of all the three, he cannot positively determine; tho he gives some Reasons why he thinks the four first Canons of this Council of *Constantinople* belong to the first and second Synod, and rather to the first than the second; because of the fourth, which is against the Ordination of *Maximus*, who had endeavour'd to make himself Master of the See of *Constantinople*, while *Nazianzen* was in possession of it: And that the following

following Canons belong to the third Synod held in 383. Council II.

The Canons which Mr. *Du Pin* ascribes to this General Council, are these that follow.

The 1st confirms the Creed of the Council of *Nice*, and pronounces an Anathema against all the Heresies that are contrary to it, especially against the *Eunomians*, the *Anomeans*, the *Arians*, the *Eudoxians*, against the *Semi-Arians* who were Enemies to the Holy Spirit, against the *Marcellians* and *Apollinarists*. Cent. 4. p. 273.

The 2d Canon consists of four Parts: In the first, the Bishops of one Diocess are forbidden (taking the name of Diocess for many Provinces) to go out of their own Diocess; and 'tis ordain'd according to the Canons, That the Bishop of *Alexandria* shall govern *Egypt* only; That the Bishops of the *East* shall govern the *East*, saving always to the Church of *Antioch* its Privileges and Prerogatives, which are mention'd in the sixth Canon of the Council of *Nice*: That the Bishops of the Diocess of *Asia* shall regulate what concerns their own Diocess: That those of *Thrace* shall govern only the Churches of *Thrace*, and those of *Pontus* the Churches of *Pontus*.

The second Part forbids every Bishop in particular to go out of the Bounds of his own Country to ordain, or to meddle with the Affairs of the Churches in another Diocess.

The third ordains, That the Synod of every Province shall regulate what concerns its own Province, as had been ordain'd by the Council of *Nice*.

The last Part declares, That the Churches which are among the *Barbarians*, that is to say, those which are without the *Roman* Empire, shall be govern'd according to their antient Customs, because in these Countries there is no Distinction of Diocesses or Provinces.

The 3d Canon grants to the Bishop of *Constantinople* the first Place of Honour next to the Bishop of *Rome*: Which, Mr. *Du Pin* observes, some pretend to be extended to Jurisdiction; but this



this Explication is contrary to the Terms in which it is conceiv'd, and was never approv'd by Practice, tho the Bishop of *Constantinople* taking occasion of this Prerogative of Honour, endeavour'd afterwards to usurp the Diocesses of *Thrace*, of *Asia*, and of *Pontus*; which at last were subjected to him by the Determination of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The 4th Canon declares, That *Maximus* was never Bishop, that his Ordinations are null, and that all that he did ought to be made void.

The 5th Canon approves the Tome of the Bishops of the *West*, and of those of *Antioch*, who acknowledge one and the same Divinity in the Three Persons of the Trinity.

The 6th Canon regulates the Form of Ecclesiastical Decisions, and ordains, First, That all sorts of Persons shall not be admitted to accuse Bishops of Crimes which concern Religion; That no Hereticks, Schismatics, Persons excommunicated, condemn'd, and in a word, all those that are separated from the Communion of Bishops shall be allow'd to do it. Secondly, That the Accusation of a Bishop shall be carried to the Bishops of his own Province. Thirdly, That if the Bishops of the Province cannot judge of the Crimes whereof a Bishop is accused, Recourse must be had to the Synod of the Diocess. Fourthly, That those who accuse a Bishop, ought in Writing to subject themselves to the same Penalty, to which they expose him that is accus'd, if they be convicted of Calumny. Lastly, That if any one slighting these Laws, shall address himself either to the Emperor, or to secular Judges, or shall desire a General Council, without acquiescing in the Judgment of the Bishops of the Diocess, he ought to be heard no longer, since he has violated the Canons, and overthrown the Discipline of the Church.

The last Canon is concerning the manner of receiving Hereticks, who offer themselves to return into the Bosom of the Church. It ordains, That the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Sabbatians*, *Novatians*, *Quartodecimani*, *Tetratites* and *Apollinarists*,

rists, shall be receiv'd after they have made Profession of Faith, and anathematiz'd their Errors, *By the Unction of the Holy Spirit, and the Chrism wherewith they shall be anointed on the Forehead, the Eyes, the Hands, the Mouth, the Ears, at the pronouncing of these Words: THIS IS THE SEAL OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.* As to the *Eunomians*, the *Montanists*, the *Sabellians*, and all the other Hereticks, the Council ordains, That they shall be receiv'd like Pagans; that is to say, That at first they shall receive Imposition of Hands to give them the Name of *Christian*; that afterwards they shall be placed in the Rank of Catechumens; That they shall be exorciz'd by blowing three times upon their Faces, and into their Ears; That they shall be catechiz'd, and that for a long time they shall be permitted to hear only the holy Scripture in the Church; and at last they shall be baptiz'd.

This is the Substance of the Account Mr. *Du Pin* has given us of the second General Council: But whatever Truth there may be in it, some others do much vary from him. Of these some indeed allow there were three different Synods, or as it were Sessions of this Council, in three different Years, at *Constantinople*; but that the first was not till the Year 383, and was the emphatically Great and General Council: in which the *Macedonian* Bishops, 36 in number, and among them *Eleusius* of *Cyzicus* and *Marcian* of *Lampsacus*, the two Champions of that Party, were present: That in this Council the Emperor and the *Catholick* Bishops labour'd hard with the *Macedonians* to reconcile them to the Unity of the Church; but to no purpose: For the *Macedonians* obstinately maintain'd their Ground, and at last declar'd they would rather join with the *Arians*, than subscribe to the Doctrine of the *Consubstantial*; and having made this Protestation, they left both the Council and City together. Upon this, as the same Writers observe, the same Council condemn'd the *Macedonian* Heresy, and proceeded to add their own Authority and Suffrage in Confirmation of the

the *Nicene Confession*, somewhat enlarging it by expressing in more precise Terms the Divinity of the *Holy Ghost*, who is there call'd *The Lord and Giver of Life*, who proceeds from the *Father*, and with the *Father* and the *Son* is to be worshipped and glorified, who spake by the *Prophets*. They likewise subjoin'd those other Articles, Of one *Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church*, one only *Baptism* for the Remission of Sins, the *Resurrection of the Body*, and the *Life of the World to come*. By this Council also they say, that *Nectarius* was chosen Bishop of *Constantinople*, and had taken his Place accordingly, before they proceeded to the Dispatch of other Business.

ibid.

The same Historians tell us, and I suppose founding the Assertion upon *Theodoret*, that the weighty Affairs of the Church and the Care of their Brethren in the *West*, who had been disgusted at some Proceedings of the Council in 383, had oblig'd them to meet again the Year after; at which time they receiv'd Letters from the *Western Bishops*, complaining of some Transactions in the former Synod, and among other things, That they had avoided the Calling of a General Council, that they might hold one at *Constantinople*; and therefore they pray'd that one might be held at *Rome*, (where the *Western Bishops* were then conven'd, and from whence those Letters were sent) to determine all their Differences: And for that purpose they invited the *Eastern Bishops* thither. These Letters *Theodoret* says were answer'd by a Synodical Epistle from the Council of *Constantinople*, wherein they excus'd themselves for not appearing at *Rome*, because their Presence was necessarily requir'd at home; and recommending Unity to them, they broke up, and did little else.

L. 5. c. 8.

Sym. Ch. Hist.

The third Council of *Constantinople*, these Writers assert, was not long after the second, in the Reign also of the same *Theodosius* the Emperor; but that it was no more than a National Council, compos'd of *Arians*, *Eunomians* and *Macedonians*, as well as *Catholick Bishops*; in which *Nectarius* and *Agellius* appear'd for the *Con-*  
*substantialists*,

*substantialists*, *Demophilus* for the *Arians*, *Eunomius* himself for the *Eunomians*, and *Eteusius* for the *Maccedonians*: the last of which were all baffled by *Nectarius*. Whereupon the Emperor tore the Summaries of the *Arian*, *Eunomian* and *Maccedonian* Faith, which had been deliver'd to him for his Approbation, and appointed the *Nicene* Faith and Confession to be the only Test and Standard of Orthodoxy in Religion.

But tho these Writers mention three Synods at *Constantinople*, one presently after another, and all under the Reign of *Theodosius*; there are others who, following *Socrates*, allow of only two; the first of which they reckon the *Great*, or *General* Council, viz. the Council in 383; and the second, that in which the Emperor himself (and not *Nectarius*, tho it was by his Management) confounded the Hereticks. And during the Session of this very Synod it was, that the Synodical Epistle of the *Western* Bishops inviting them to *Rome*, was receiv'd and read, and a Reply was made.

Soc. l. 5. c. 8 & 10.

Concerning this last Council, *Socrates* tells us to this Effect: That soon after the Dissolution of the great Council, the Expulsion of the *Arians* making great Noise, several Disorders and Tumults were rais'd about it in several Places, insomuch that the Emperor being alarm'd, soon resolv'd to convene another Council, and call the several disgusted Factions to it; conceiving that by a fair and free Debate those Differences in Religion might be brought to an Accommodation. This free Council accordingly met, and the principal Hereticks of all Denominations flock'd thither from all Quarters: All prepar'd with their respective Arguments, and flush'd with the Thoughts of Victory before the Onset.

L. 5. c. 10.

And here the Emperor, consulting *Nectarius*, what Method was best to be taken in this critical Affair, propos'd it as his own Opinion, that they should end the Dispute by dint of Argument, Upon which *Nectarius*, not knowing at present whether to assent or dissent, crav'd time to consider: And during that Interval he communicated

Id. ibid.



the Emperor's Proposal to *Agellius* the *Novatian* Bishop; who knowing himself to be no Disputant, recommended him for Advice in that Part, to *Sisennius* his Reader, who was very expert in Disputation, and thorowly vers'd in all kinds of Learning. This *Sisennius*, who knew by Experience the vanity of Disputations, especially in Cases of Religion, propos'd a *Medium*, viz. That the Determination should be referr'd to the Books of the earliest Fathers and Writers of the Church, as the best Witnesses of the Sense of the Church in their Times: That the Emperor should demand of the Principals of the several Sects, Whether they valued or condemned the Authority and Doctrine of those Fathers and Writers: That if they answer'd, that they condemn'd them, it should be requir'd of them to anathematize them; which if they should do, it was the Judgment of *Sisennius*, that their own People would be ready to stone them: But if they allow'd them, the Orthodox had nothing more to do but to produce their Books and shew their Faith attested in them.

The Counsel of *Sisennius* being communicated to the Emperor by *Nectarius*, was not only approv'd, but also put in practice: For *Socrates* says, the Emperor propos'd it to the Hereticks, *Whether they look'd upon those Fathers, who writ before this Controversy was started, to be competent Judges of it?* Which when they allow'd, the Emperor demanded of them, *Whether they would admit of that Testimony and Authority for a Decider of their Controversies?* But this last was a most puzzling Question: To submit themselves to the Authority of the Fathers, was intirely to give up the Cause; and to deny it, especially as they had answer'd the former Question in the Affirmative, was to proclaim themselves obstinate. This set them all at variance among themselves, and nothing but Confusion ensued. At length the Emperor order'd every Party to bring him a Confession of their Faith, drawn up in Writing: Which, when they had all denied the *Consubstantial*, except

except the *Novatian*, he tore them to pieces, declaring his own hearty Resolution to stand by that. And because the *Novatians* had join'd Issue, and concurred with the Orthodox in this Point; he passed an Edict in their Favour, allowing them their separate Churches, and the same Privileges as the Catholics; while the Champions of the other Parties fell under Disgrace, were banished their Cities, and not permitted to hold their Conventicles within the Walls of any City. And *Sozomen* says, the Emperor forbid them the Use and Exercise of all Ecclesiastical Duties, and doom'd some of them to be expell'd both City and Country, and others to Disfranchisement, and all Marks of Disgrace: But this only in *Terrorem*, for he never let these Edicts be executed.

This is the Substance of what was transacted in this second Council, according to *Socrates*; and that it was held the very next Year after the General Council, is very evident from the Synodical Epistle sent from the Fathers of it to the Synod at *Rome*, as the Epistle is register'd by *Theodoret*: In which, for a more particular account of their Faith, and abhorrence of all the modern Heresies, they refer them to the Acts of the Synod that had met at *Antioch*, and the *Second General Council held the Year before at Constantinople, &c.* But whether that General Council was held in 382, according to *Mr. Du Pin*; or in 383, according to *Prosper*; or in 385, as *Bullinger* would have it, is not so easy to be determined.

Since it is allow'd that such a Council was held, the precise Year is not so very material: But then it may be inquir'd, and that with good reason, How that Council, being compos'd of only *Eastern Bishops*, without the Assistance of the *Western Fathers* (for there was but one of them, *viz. Ascholi* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, present at it) could be call'd General; especially considering that the *Western Bishops* denied the Authority of it, and demanded a General Council to be call'd instead of that? To this it may be answer'd, That it is true, the *Western Bishops* did deny this

Council at first, and complain'd of the Proceedings of it as Illegal, upon the account of their Absence from it: But they afterwards receiv'd the Creed with their Additions, and thereby allow'd the Faith of it to be their own: Tho' the Popes indeed did not approve the Canons, because of that one which grants the Bishop of *Constantinople* the first Place of Honour next to the Bishop of *Rome*. And thus much for the Second General Council.

### Of the Third General Council, the Council of EPHESUS.

**T**HE Third General Council was that of *Ephesus*, conven'd by *Theodosius* Junior at the Suit of *Nestorius* himself; and promoted by Pope *Celestine* the first of that Name, about the Year of our Lord 434, according to *Prosper's* Computation: tho' some others make it a year later. But that Difference is very little material.

That this Council also was assembled by the Imperial Mandate, besides the Authority of *Evagrius*, we have the Words of the Council itself, in an Epistle to the Emperors: 'The Holy Council which was gathered together by the Grace of God, and by the Authority of your Dominion, in the chief City of the *Ephesians*, &c.'

The Occasion of this Council was this: *Nestorius* a Native of *Germanicia*, being at *Antioch*, was sent for by the Emperors to be advanced to the See of *Constantinople*, in the Year 428, according to Mr. *Du Pin*; and setting out from thence to take Possession of his Episcopate, he carried one *Anastasi* (tho' others give him the Name of *Carisius*) a Presbyter, his Bosom Confident and Counsellor, with him to *Constantinople*. This *Anastasi* (or *Carisius*) being secure of his Bishop's Ear, and Patronage of whatsoever Doctrines he should think fit to advance, had not been long at *Constantinople*

(for

Evagr. l. i. c. 3.  
Prid. Intr. Hist.  
Bull. l. i. c. 22.

L. i. c. 3.

Cent. 5. p. 191.

Prid. Intr. Hist.

Evagr. l. i. c. 2.

(for Mr. Du Pin says it was about the end of the Council III. Year 428) before he began to vent his corrupt and perverse Opinions: That *MARY* ought not to be called the Mother of God: That *MARY* was a Woman, and God cannot be born of a Woman. These Doctrines being broach'd by *Anastadius* from the Pulpit, were seconded by one *Dorotheus* a Bishop; and afterwards openly maintain'd by *Nestorius* himself, in several of his Discourses, as well as Sermons: Which strangely surpriz'd and scandaliz'd all the Orthodox Christians that heard them, both Clergy as well as Laity.

Cent. 5. p. 191.

Id. ibid.

They had never been taught till now, to divide the Humanity of *Christ* from his Divinity: And this new Doctrine occasion'd a publick Disturbance in the Church: Insomuch that the Populace rose against their Bishop; and several of the Clergy, among whom was *Eusebius*, afterward Bishop of *Dorylaum*, published a Protestation against *Nestorius*, wherein they declar'd him an Heretick, and accus'd him of renewing the Error of *Paulus Samosatenus*.

This Controversy soon dilated it self beyond the Limits of *Constantinople*: For the Advocates of *Nestorius's* Party sent a Collection of his Sermons into *Egypt*, where his Opinions were espoused by several of the *Egyptian* Monks. Upon this, *St. Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, wrote a large Letter to those Monks, to dehort their Adherence to such pernicious Doctrines, but without naming *Nestorius* in it. This Letter, being seen at *Constantinople*, so enraged *Nestorius*, that he employ'd one *Photius* to answer it; and declar'd himself eagerly and obstinately against the Word *God*, or the Mother of God, as an allowable Epithet of the Virgin *MARY*. But neither did *Nestorius* stop here; for he proceeded to aver, That he would not call him God, who grew to Man's Estate by two Months, three Months, &c.

Du Pin Cent. 5, p. 191.

Socrat. l. 7. c. 32.

Evagr. l. 1. c. 2.

After this the Sermons of *Nestorius* were sent to *Rome*, to Pope *Celestine*; and also Letters from himself: Of which *St. Cyril* being inform'd, in like manner wrote to him on his Part, dispatch-



ing his Epistle together with a Paper of Instructions, by one *Possidonius* his Deacon: But with express Command not to deliver his Letter, unless he understood that what *Nestorius* had written was come to the Pope's Hands.

The Instructions *St. Cyril* sent by *Possidonius*, among other things contained a Summary of the *Nestorian* Tenets, which for the better understanding what *Nestorianism* is, it cannot be improper to insert. The Doctrine, say *St. Cyril's* Instructions as they are published by *M. Baluzius*, or rather the Heresy of *Nestorius* is, to believe, That the Word of God, foreseeing that the Person, who was to be born of *MARY*, should be Holy and Great, did therefore make choice of him to make him be born of a *Virgin*, and bestowed such Graces upon him, as that he was rightly called the Son of God, our Lord, and Christ; that he made him die for us, and then raised him from the Dead; that this Word was Incarnate, because he was always with the Man, as he also had been with the Prophets, but in a more especial manner. That *Nestorius* confessed, that he was with him in the Womb of the *Virgin*, but he will not acknowledge that he was a God by Nature, but he was called so upon the account of the extraordinary Favour which God had always shewed him; and that it was the Man that died and rose again.

After this manner *St. Cyril* delivers *Nestorius's* Doctrine, which being done, he thus explains his own. We believe and confess, that the Word of God is Immortal, yea Life it self; but he became Flesh, and being united with a Body, animated with a rational Soul, suffered in the Flesh, as the Scripture says; and because his Body suffered, We say, that *HE* hath suffered, altho he be of a Nature incapable of Sufferings; and because his Body is risen, we say, *HE* is risen. But *Nestorius* is not of that Judgment, for he says, that it is the Man, who is raised, and that it is the Body of the Man, which is offered to us in the Holy Sacrament. We believe on the  
con-

Du Pin Cent. 5.  
P. 193.

See Du Pin Cent.  
5. P. 193.

‘ contrary, that it is the Flesh and Blood of the Council III.  
‘ Word, that giveth Life to all Things.’

POSSIDONIUS the Deacon of St. Cyril Du Pin Cent. 5. p. 193.  
was arriv’d at Rome, when Pope Celestine having before receiv’d Instructions on both sides, had assembled a Council; in which after reading and examining the Writings of Nestorius, and his Letters with those of St. Cyril, they disapprov’d the Positions of the Former, but approv’d the Belief and Confession of the Latter.

But tho they did not allow the Doctrines of Nestorius, they did not think fit to condemn him presently. For which Reason they resolv’d that a Message should be sent to him, declaring that if he did not recant his erroneous Doctrines within ten Days after Notice of that Censure, he should be depos’d, and *ipso facto* excommunicated: And the Execution of this Decree was committed to St. Cyril. But neither this Sentence of the Western Bishops, nor all the Persuasions John Bishop of Antioch could use to induce this Heretick to retract his Errors, and approve the Catholick Doctrine, availed any thing. Whereupon St. Cyril also assembled another Council in Egypt, in which it was resolv’d that the Judgment of the Western Bishops should be put in Execution, in case Nestorius should still persist, after the limited time.

To notify this Decree of the Egyptian Council, Ib. p. 194, &c.  
four Bishops were deputed to Nestorius, with a Synodical Letter, a Confession of Faith for him to subscribe, and twelve famous Anathema’s affix’d.

The First is against him that doth not confess, That the Person, who in Isaiah is called Emanuel, i. e. Jesus Christ, is a true God; and that the Virgin is upon that account the Mother of God, because she brought into the World the Word incarnate according to the Flesh.

The Second is against him that doth not acknowledge, That the Word of the Father being hypostatically united to the Flesh, makes one Jesus Christ with his Flesh, and that he is altogether God and Man.

The Third is against him that divideth the Na-

duces after the Union, or allows them only an Union of Dignity, Authority and Power, and not a Natural Union.

The Fourth is against them, who attribute that which is spoken of Christ in Holy Scripture, to God or Man separately.

The Fifth is against him who calls Jesus Christ a Man bearing God, and not a true God, and the natural Son of God, because being Incarnate he partakes of the same Flesh and Blood with us.

The Sixth is against him who asserts, that the Word of God is the God of Christ.

The Seventh is against him who says, that Jesus Christ, as he was Man, was moved by the Word, and was clothed with his Glory, as being a Person distinct from him.

The Eighth is against him who asserts, that We ought to worship the Manhood with the Word, and will not give the same Adoration to Immanuel, i. e. the Word Incarnate.

The Ninth is against him who says, that Jesus Christ did Miracles by the Power of the Holy Spirit, and not by his own.

The Tenth is against him who affirms, that it is not the Word that is our High Priest and Apostle, who was sacrificed for us; but it is the Man, who died for himself and for us.

The Eleventh is against him who denies, that the Flesh was the living Flesh of the Word, but the Flesh of the Man united with the Godhead by a Moral Union, because it dwells and inhabits in it.

The Twelfth is against him who will not say, that the Word hath suffered truly in his Flesh, and that he died and rose again according to the Flesh.

While these things were transacting, which took up much time, Nestorius was well inform'd of all that pass'd; and foreseeing the Storm was like to fall upon himself, He requested the Emperor Theodosius, before the Sentence of Pope Celestine and St. Cyril's Letters were signified unto him, that he would call a Council. The Monks also of Constantinople, who were very much incens'd against him, desired the same: Which Theodosius

Evagr. l. i. c. 3.

Du Pin Cent. 5.  
P. 195.

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consented to, and accordingly summon'd a General Council to assemble at *Ephesus*, on the *Whitsuntide* of the Year following the Date of his Imperial Letters.

Council III.

Evagr. l. 1. c. 3.

The Time appointed for the meeting of this Council drawing near, *Nestorius*, by reason that *Ephesus* was not far distant from *Constantinople*, was there before the rest of the Bishops: Some say that he arriv'd at *Ephesus* immediately after *Easter*; probably to meet the Bishops as they came in, and to prejudice them in favour of his Opinions. *St. Cyril* also, with fifty Bishops more from *Egypt*, arriv'd at *Ephesus* a little before the Day, and others after them to the Number of 200 at least: For *Javenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem* came not till the fifth Day after the stated Time: And *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, with several others of the *Eastern* Bishops, not till after the Deposition of *Nestorius*; which occasion'd no small Disturbance, as we shall see by and by.

Socr. l. 7. c. 33.

Evagr. l. 1. c. 3.

Some say that *John* of *Antioch*, favouring the Party of *Nestorius*, industriously made it his Business to create Delays, and keep away as long as he could; but others excuse him from that, alledging that he had too short notice, and could not possibly get the Bishops of his Province so soon together. But however that was, the appointed Day of meeting was come, when the Council met, but acted nothing, out of respect to those *Eastern* Bishops, whose coming they daily expected. And thus the Council was protracted for fifteen Days; when *John* of *Antioch* with his Company not appearing, the Bishops growing impatient of longer Delay resolv'd to proceed to Business, and particularly to the Affair of *Nestorius*.

Socr. l. 7. c. 33.

Evagr. l. 1. c. 3.

Evagr. l. 1. c. 4.

*St. Cyril* of *Alexandria* was President of this Council, when *Nestorius* was called before them: And if some warm Debates pass'd between them two upon this Occasion, considering they had no good Understanding of a long time, it is not to be wonder'd at. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, as he presid'd there, began the Debates in such a manner as he thought would most mortify *Nestorius*, and *Nestorius*

Id. ib.

Park. Abridg.

l. 7. p. 352.

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*Nestorius* was not behindhand with him in his Replies: Till at last many of the rest as well as *Cyril* asserting, That *Christ* was God, *Nestorius* told them he could not tell how to make a God of a Child two or three Months old; and so, said he, *I am pure from the Blood of ye all, and will henceforth trouble you with none of my Company any more.* Accordingly he and the Bishops of his Party left the Council.

See ib.

The Day after *Nestorius* was again cited to make his Appearance before the Council; but refus'd the Summons, declaring he would not appear till *John of Antioch* was come. Hereupon *Nestorius* was called thrice; but no *Nestorius* would answer: Which being look'd on as a Contempt by the Council; concluding by this time that the *Eastern* Bishops did not design to come; they proceeded on the seventeenth Day, to excommunicate *Nestorius*.

But before they entred upon this Affair, the Count *Candidianus*, whom the Emperor had sent to the Council that he might assist in it in his Stead (but only to prevent Disorders, not to meddle in any Points of Controversy) propos'd to wait for the absent Bishops: Till *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus* remonstrated that they had waited for them sixteen Days, which the Council thought was long enough; and upon that account were resolved to proceed.

Id. p. 197.

*Candidianus* upon this withdrew, as dissatisfy'd; making his Protestation against the Council: When the Council again re-cited *Nestorius* according to Form: But *Nestorius* not yet appearing, the Council proceeded to a peremptory Decision of his Affair, in the following Method: They first recited the *Nicene* Creed; then they ordered the Epistles of *St. Cyril* to *Nestorius*, and his also to *St. Cyril*, to be read, together with the Epistle of *Pope Celestine* to the same *Nestorius*, and *St. Cyril's* Anathema's: Then they heard the Testimony of *Theodotus* Bishop of *Ankyra*, who deposed, that since he was at *Ephesus* he had heard *Nestorius* say, That it was an impious Assertion to say, That a God could be an Infant of two or three Months

Du Pin Cent. 5.

P. 197.

Evagr. l. 1. c. 4.

Du Pin p. 197.

## The Council of Ephesus.

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Council III.

*Months old.* Acacius also, Bishop of *Melitina*, averred that he heard one of the Bishops, who were of *Nestorius's* Company, say, *That he that suffered for us, was a distinct Person from the Word.* After these Testimonies, they produced many Passages of the Antient Fathers, with an Extract also of *Nestorius's* Writings; from a mature and careful Examination of which, adjudging him sufficiently convicted, the Council pronounced Sentence against him, in these Words:

‘ The most Impious Heretick *Nestorius* refusing See Du Pin *ibid.*  
 ‘ to appear at our Citation, and not suffering the  
 ‘ Holy Bishops, whom we sent to him, to enter  
 ‘ into his House, we were obliged to examine his  
 ‘ Cause; and having convicted him of dispersing  
 ‘ and teaching an Impious Doctrine, as hath been  
 ‘ proved, as well by his Letters and other Writings,  
 ‘ as by the Sermons which he hath preached  
 ‘ in this Metropolis, which hath been confirmed  
 ‘ by sufficient Testimonies, we have been moved  
 ‘ both by the Canons of the Church, and the See Evagr. l. 1. c. 4.  
 ‘ Censure of the most Holy Father and our Col-  
 ‘ league *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, to pronounce  
 ‘ against him this heavy Sentence, which we cannot  
 ‘ but do with Grief: Our Lord *Jesus Christ*,  
 ‘ against whom *Nestorius* hath blasphemed, declares  
 ‘ him by this Synod deprived of his Episcopal  
 ‘ Dignity, and separated from the Communion  
 ‘ of the Priestly Order.’

For the better understanding one Clause in this Sentence, *viz.* that relating to the Bishops who were sent to *Nestorius* by the Council, it is to be known, that three Bishops had been sent to him, three several times, the Day before. The first Du Pin Cent. 5. p. 197.  
 time they were admitted to speak with *Nestorius*,  
 being then with six or seven other Bishops of the same Stamp; and advising them to come to the Council, they were answer’d, *That they would think of it, and would come to it, if they judged it convenient.* The second time, they were answered by *Florentius* the Tribune, and a Clerk of *Nestorius's*, *That he would come to the Council when all the Bishops were met.* The third time, they were not  
 suf.

suffer'd to enter into *Nestorius's* House; and the Reason, as the Guards told them, was this, That they had order to keep any Person from entering that came from the Synod.

But to proceed. Next Day after the Sentence was pronounced against *Nestorius*, care was taken that it should be signified to him by a Synodical Letter; and also that the Transactions of the Council should be faithfully committed to Writing, and sent forthwith to the Imperial Court. Neither was *Nestorius* idle on his Part, but wrote a Letter to the Emperor in his own Name; which was sign'd by all his Partizans of the Episcopal Order, then at *Ephesus*.

Five Days after the Deposition of *Nestorius*, *John* Bishop of *Antioch* arriv'd at *Ephesus*, together with the other *Eastern* Bishops; Mr. *Du Pin* says 26 in all: Which with the others there before, that sided with *Nestorius*, increas'd their number to above fifty; as appears in the Subscriptions of their Letters; where their own Names and the Names of their Cities are all set down: Tho, if we take *Cyril's* Account, they were not near so many: For he says there were but ten of *Nestorius's* Party before the Arrival of the *Eastern* Bishops.

And here began a kind of War among these two Parties of Ecclesiasticks.: For, *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, resenting the Proceedings of the Council against *Nestorius*, conven'd the *Nestorians*, and held a Council of them, in the Place of his own Abode. In this Assembly, *Candidianus* gave them an Account of what had been done in the Great Council; and then withdrew. Presently after, this Anti-Council accus'd *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus* of shutting up the Churches against the Bishops; and *Cyril* of following the Errors of *Arius* and *Apollinaris* in his 12 Chapters: For which they adjudged them to be deposed, as the Council had before adjudged *Nestorius*. This Sentence was also notified to those Bishops in form, and to the Emperor in like manner, as if they had been a real Council. Hereupon, *Cyril* and *Memnon* applied them-

themselves to the Council assembled with them, Council III. whereto *John* was call'd to give a Reason why he had deposed those Bishops; but refused to appear. After the third Citation given, and the Non-appearance of *John*, *Cyril* and *Ademnon* were absolv'd by the General Council, and *John* with his Partizans were excommunicated and depriv'd of the Priestly Order.

Evagr. l. i. c. 5.

Mutual Excommunications having pass'd on both sides, an eternal Enmity had ensued, but that the Emperor, being at last fully convinc'd that *Nestorius* had been justly deposed, which he did not think at first; interpos'd his Imperial Mediation between the two Parties, and so reconcil'd them that they became Friends, and jointly and by consent ratified the Sentence pronounced against *Nestorius*; only with this Addition, That *Nestorius* and his Party should be banish'd to *Oasis*; whereas Bp. *Prideaux* observes, that *Nestorius*, like another *Cain*, roving here and there, and blaspheming, at length his Tongue was consum'd and eaten up by Worms, and in that miserable Condition he breathed out his last.

Id. ibid.

Intr. Hist.

Little else was done in this Council, only that the *Massilian* Hereticks, otherwise call'd *Euchites* and *Enthusiasts*, were condemn'd by it; and the Orthodoxy of the *Nicene* Confession was confirm'd.

There are, as Bp. *Prideaux* observes, two Copies of this Council; the first containing 8, the second 13 Canons; all which are comprehended in the *Anathema's* of St. *Cyril*, which being set down before, to them we refer the Reader.

Ibid.







Of the Fourth General Council, commonly  
call'd the Council of Chalcedon.



HE Fourth General Council was the General Council of *Chalcedon*, a City in *Bithynia*, lying directly over against *Constantinople*. This Council also, as the former, was conven'd by the Authority of the Emperor. So *Leontius* says, *Theodosius* being dead, *Martianus* was made Emperor, and presently commands a General Council to meet at *Chalcedon*. And in the Acts of the Synod it self it is said, In *Chalcedon*, the chief City of the Province of *Bithynia*, there was gather'd together a Council by the Decree of the Emperors *Valentinianus* and *Martianus*.

The precise Year in which this Council was celebrated, is no more certain than any of the former: Some placing it in 454, others in 455, and Mr. *Du Pin*, according to Custom, three or four Years before the rest, viz. in 451: Tho, if it be true that this Council was conven'd in the third Year of *Martianus*, which Mr. *Symson* asserts, and *Martianus* came to the Throne in the Year 450, as Bp. *Prideaux* says he did, it is evident that neither of the former Computations are to be depended upon. However that is, this Council was held in the great Church of St. *Euphemia* in the City of *Chalcedon*, in the Presence of the Commissioners, Officers of the Emperor, and Counsellors of State, who regulated every Motion of it, and were seated in the middle of the Assembly. Some Writers say, that the Emperor himself was there in Person, and that he intreated all the Fathers not to attribute it to Ostentation of his Power that he sat there, but to his earnest Desire that the true Faith should be confirm'd and established.

Concerning

See Bp. Bever.  
Art. p. 253.

Bull. 1. 1. c. 23.

Church Hist.

Int. Hist.

Sym. Ch. Hist.

Concerning the President of this Council there is no Certainty, unless perhaps the Emperor himself presided: Neither is the Number of Bishops, &c. any better determined: for some say there were about 600, others 630; but Mr. *Du Pin* says, there are but 350 in the Subscriptions: However, it is most generally receiv'd, that the Number was 600 or upwards, and that this was the most numerous Council had ever been.

Council IV.

Sym. Ch. Hist.

The Reasons of the Emperor's calling this Council were these: About the Year 449 sprung up one *Eutyches*, a Priest, and Abbot of a Monastery in *Constantinople*, who to avoid the Error of *Nestorius* as he thought, run into the contrary extreme; and carrying the Union of the two Natures in Christ too far, made but one of two, asserting one only Nature, viz. his Divine Nature, to be in Christ, after his Incarnation. This Doctrine was vigorously oppos'd by all the Orthodox, and particularly by *Flavian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and Pope *Leo*, the first of that Name: And as for *Flavian*, he was so zealous against it, that upon the first broaching this Doctrine, he quickly call'd a particular Council at *Constantinople*; in which the *Eutychian* Tenets were thorowly examin'd and condemn'd. This was a very great Heart-burning to all the Favourers of *Eutyches*, but especially to *Chrysaphius*, the *Præfectus-Prætorio* at *Constantinople*, who by his Interest procur'd from the Emperor *Theodosius*, that a second Council should be call'd at *Ephesus*, in which *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* was President. *Flavianus* and *Eutyches* appear'd at that Council as Parties; when *Eutyches* delivering in a Confession of Faith, the President without more ado, declar'd his Approbation of it without asking a Vote besides: As if the arbitrary Judgment of a President was to pass for the unanimous Consent of a whole Council. To this Council Letters were sent from *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, but *Dioscorus* would not suffer them to be read.

Bull. l. i. c. 23.

Bull. l. i. c. 23.

Sym. Ch. Hist.

Several very great Men were present at this Council, and even some who had been instrumental

Sym. Ch. Hist.

Bull. l. i. c. 23.

Id. ibid.

Du Pin Cent. 5.  
Conc. Chal.

Bull. l. i. c. 23.

tal in the Condemnation of *Nestorius*. Notwithstanding by some strange Infatuation, the wicked Opinion of *Eutyches* was approv'd by this Council; *Eutyches* himself, with 300 Monks, all involv'd in this Heresy, and excommunicated by *Flavianus*, were absolv'd, and the Tables were turn'd upon *Flavianus*: For they excommunicated him; and not only so, but the Faction of *Eutyches* most barbarously treated him, trod him under Foot, and so wounded him, that he died in three Days time. In this Synod also were condemn'd several pious and learned Men: *Ibas* of *Edessa*, and *Theodore* of *Cyprus* in particular, besides *Eusebius* of *Doryleum*, &c.

During the whole time of the sitting of this Council, the Place was environ'd with very strong Guards, which *Chrysaphius* brought with him, to compel those Bishops who would not comply to favour the *Eutychian* Heresy: From hence this second Council of *Ephesus* was by the Antients call'd *Micene*, as if it had been nothing else but a Convention of Robbers.

Presently upon the Excommunication of *Flavianus*, he appeal'd to a Free and General Council; and an Account of his Appeal, together with the manner in which things had been done, was carried to *Rome* to Pope *Leo*, who presently assembled a Council, and demanded of the Emperor to call a General Council in *Italy*, to judge of *Flavian's* Appeal. To this *Theodosius* answer'd, That he had already assembled a General Council at *Ephesus* in which that Matter had been judg'd, that *Flavianus* had been found guilty, was condemn'd, and that it was needless and even impossible to do more. Upon this *Leo* sent four Legates into the *East*, to solicit a new Judgment. *Theodosius* was dead before they arriv'd: But being succeeded by *Martianus*, a Prince of great Religion and Goodness, the same Application was made to him by Pope *Leo*: And he, at the pressing Instances of the Empress *Pulcheria*, who had a great Respect for the Bishop of *Rome*, condescended. Hereupon a Council was presently appointed at *Nice*, and when

when the Bishops were met there, he order'd them to go to *Chalcedon*, where this famous Council was celebrated, at which were present *Paschasius* and *Lucentius* Bishops, with *Boniface* a Priest, the Pope's Legates; then *Anatolius* of *Constantinople* who succeeded *Flavian*, *Maximus* of *Antioch*, and the Bishops of the *East*, on one side; *Dioscorus* of *Alexandria*, *Juvenal* of *Jerusalem*, and the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Illyria* and *Palestine* on the other: with the Holy Gospels placed in the middle.

The Transactions of this Council are set down at large in Mr. *Du Pin's* Ecclesiastical History Cent. 5. to which we refer the curious Reader; and shall content our selves, if we give him a short Account of them in the Words of his Abridger.

*Dioscorus* and *Eusebius* of *Doryleum* appear'd there [i. e. at the Council of *Chalcedon*] as Parties. *Eusebius* presented *Dioscorus*. *Theodoretus* presented himself, in order to be admitted; but the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Illyria* oppos'd it. The Commissioners order'd that he should enter as an Accuser. The Acts of the Council of *Dioscorus* were read; upon which it was declar'd, That *Flavianus* and *Eusebius* of *Doryleum* had been unjustly condemn'd in that Council, and that the Bishops who had condemn'd them deserv'd to be depos'd. In the second Session they treated of Matters of Faith; the Result whereof was the Approbation of the Letter of *Leo* to *Flavianus*, wherein the Error of *Eutyches* was condemn'd. *Dioscorus* being cited in the Third Session, and refusing to appear, was depos'd. In the Fourth, they receiv'd *Juvenal* of *Jerusalem*, *Thalassius* of *Cæsarea*, and the other Bishops who repented of having sign'd the Judgment given against *Flavianus*, and who condemn'd *Dioscorus* and *Eutyches*. There was a particular Meeting held upon the Difference of *Eustathius* of *Berytes*, and *Photius* of *Tyre*, for the Right of the *Metropolis*. *Photius* gain'd the Cause, and remain'd sole Metropolitan, notwithstanding the Civil Division of the Provinces which the Emperor had made. It was likewise



decreed, That for the future the Letters which  
 the Cities should obtain of the Emperor to be  
 erected into Metropolis's, should not prejudice  
 the antient Ecclesiastical Metropolis's. In the  
 fifth Session they drew up and approv'd a Con-  
 fession of Faith, in which it is declar'd, That  
 we must believe in one only *Jesus Christ* our  
 Lord, the Son of God, perfect in his Divinity  
 and in his Humanity, consubstantial with God  
 according to his Divinity, and with us according  
 to his Humanity; who has two united Natures,  
 without Change, Division or Separation; so  
 that the Properties of the two Natures subsist  
 and agree in one and the same Person, which is  
 not divided into two, but is one only *Jesus*  
*Christ*, the Son of God. The Emperor assisted  
 in Person at the sixth Meeting; at which time  
 the Confession of Faith was read over again,  
 and approved and sign'd by all the Bishops.  
 The Affair of Faith being ended, they regulated  
 what regarded personal Contests, and the Dis-  
 pute about Discipline. They made up the Dif-  
 ference that was betwixt the Bishop of *Antioch*  
 and him of *Jerusalem*, leaving the two *Phani-*  
*cia's* and *Arabia* to the Bishop of *Antioch*, and  
 the three *Palestines* to him of *Jerusalem*. *Theo-*  
*doretus* was definitively absolv'd, after having  
 pronounced the Anathema against *Nestorius*.  
*Ibas* Bishop of *Edeffa* was declared Orthodox,  
 after the reading of his Letter. *Domnus*, Ne-  
 phew to *John* of *Antioch*, who had succeeded  
 him, and had been depos'd by *Dioscorus*, was  
 not restor'd. *Maxentius*, who had been or-  
 dain'd in his Place, was continued; but the  
 Subsistence of *Domnus* was provided for, if the  
 Act which regards that Contest be true. They  
 depos'd *Bassianus* and *Stephen*, who both pre-  
 tended to be Bishops of *Ephesus*. They con-  
 firm'd to the Bishop of *Nicomedia* the Juris-  
 diction over all *Bithynia*; and reserv'd nothing  
 to the Bishop of *Nice*, but the Honour of  
 Metropolitan. They resolv'd, that *Sabinianus*  
 had

had been lawfully ordain'd Bishop of *Berea*, and Council IV;  
*Athanasius* unduly ordain'd by *Dioscorus*.

Besides this, there are 30 Canons ascribed to the Council of *Chalcedon*; tho Mr. *Du Pin* is of opinion, that the Collection of them was not made in any Session of the Council; but that they were compos'd since, and taken out of the several Actions: However, he sets them down in order. The first of them commands, that the Canons made by preceding Councils be observ'd. The 6th forbids the Ordination of any Clergyman absolutely, and without a Church Title. The 8th enjoins the Clergy that belong to Monasteries and Chappels of Martyrs, to be subject to their Bishop. And the 28th grants to the Church of the City of *Constantinople*, which is call'd New *Rome*, the same Privileges with Old *Rome*, because this City is the second City in the World. It also adjudges to it, besides this, the Jurisdiction over the Dioceses of *Pontus*, *Asia* and *Thrace*, and over the Churches which are out of the Bounds of the Emperor, and a Right to ordain Metropolitans in the Provinces of their Dioceses. These are the most material Canons of this Council: The rest, which principally concern only Clerks and Monks, are of lesser moment; and for that Reason we shall not trouble the Reader with them.

There remains only one thing more observable of this Council, That the Pope's Legates complain'd against the 28th Canon in particular: But the other Bishops of the Council stood to what they had done. Hereupon the Pope's Legates were somewhat more rough, and demanded that the Acts of that Regulation should be cancell'd: Or if they would not do that, they required that their Protest might remain join'd to the Acts. But the Protest of the Legates prevail'd nothing, the Bishops declaring that they persisted; and the Commissioners, without taking any notice of what had been said by the Legates, decided, That the whole Council had approved their Resolution,



Of the Second Council of Constantinople,  
which is commonly call'd the Fifth General Council.



THE Fifth General Council was held again at *Constantinople*, and is therefore call'd the Second of that Place. It was gather'd by the Emperor *Justinian*: For *Evagrius* says thus: *Eustochius* being Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Justinian* gathered together the Fifth Council. And so *Nicephorus*: The Emperor *Justinian* gathered together the Fifth Holy General Council, the Bishops of all Churches being called together.

The Time in which this Council was held is uncertain as the rest, some placing it in the Year 551, others in 552, and Mr. *Du Pin* in 553. The Original and Detail of it are better known.

Some time before the Celebration of this Fifth Council, the Patrons of *Origen's* Opinions prevail'd in many Places, but more particularly among the Monks in the Monastery of *Nova Laura*, as it was call'd; from whence *Eustochius* Bishop of *Jerusalem* procur'd them to be banish'd. Upon their Dispersion, those Monks travelling into several Countries persuaded not a few to embrace their Opinions. Among others, *Theodorus Ascidas* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia* was a great Favourer of them; and having a considerable Interest in the Emperor's Court, as being continually with him, he easily incensed the Court against *Eustochius*, upon pretence that he had dealt cruelly and inhumanely with his Brethren. *Pelagius*, Surrogate to the Church of *Rome*, was at that time Resident in the *East*; and he, together with *Mennas* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, having a secret Aversion to *Theodorus*, procur'd *Origen* to be condemn'd by an Imperial Edict. This Judgment

See Bp. Bever.  
Art. p. 253.

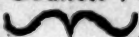
Sym. Ch. Hist.  
Bull. l. 1. c. 24.  
Du Pin Cent. 6.  
p. 139.

Evagr. l. 4. c.  
37.

Du Pin, Cent. 6.  
p. 136.

ment was approved and receiv'd by *Mennas* and the other Bishops of his Province.

Council V.



*Theodorus* of *Casarea* was one of the *Acephali*, or *Eutychian* Hereticks, who deny'd the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon*; and *Theodora* the Empress also favour'd that Sect, tho the Emperor would needs condemn it. To keep off which Blow, and at the same time to be reveng'd for the Condemnation of *Origen*, *Theodorus* cunningly insinuated to the Emperor, that all the *Acephali* would re-unite, and approve the Council of *Chalcedon*, if *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia* and his Writings, the Writings of *Theodoret* against *St. Cyril*, and the Letter of *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa*, which had been read in the Council of *Chalcedon*, were all condemn'd. This the Emperor thought a piece of excellent Policy: if by the Condemnation of three dead Authors, whose Reputation was doubtful, he might procure the Re-union of several Persons to the Church, it could not be any harm to condemn them. To this end therefore, he publish'd an Edict bearing the Condemnation of the three Articles just mentioned, which were afterwards so famous under the Names of the Three Chapters.

Id. ib.

Id. ib.

*Justinian* did not only make this Edict, but he caus'd it to be confirm'd in a Council assembled at *Constantinople* for that Purpose; in which, notwithstanding, the Bishops took care not to give a Blow to the Council of *Chalcedon*, by pronouncing an *Anathema* against such as would not own the Authority of that Council.

See Du Pin ib.  
P. 137.

This Decision was made, and subscrib'd to, by the four Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, with all the Bishops of the Council. However it was oppos'd by *Stephen*, Deacon and Surrogate of *Rome*; who protested against the Condemnation of the three Chapters, and left the Communion of *Mennas* thereupon.

The Pope *Vigilius*, being then in *Sicily*, and upon his way to *Constantinople*, receiv'd the News of all that had past; and being offended that that Decision was made without him, demanded Satisfaction;



P. 138.

faction; and commended his Deacon for his Separation from the Communion of *Mennas*: And arriving at *Constantinople* himself not long after, he did the same. Notwithstanding, about three Months after he re-united with them, but without approving the Condemnation of the three Chapters; tho the next Year he made a Decree in which he condemn'd them himself. Hereupon the Bishops of *Africa*, *Illyria* and *Dardania*, separated from the Communion of *Vigilius*, and some Deacons of *Rome* accus'd their Bishop of having given a Blow to the Council of *Chalcedon*. With those Deacons, *Aurelianus* Bishop of *Arles*, and some other Bishops of *Gaul*, were in the same Opinion. Hereupon *Vigilius* appeal'd to a General Council, and wrote to the Emperor to call one: When instead of that, the Emperor publish'd his Edict, which he had made against the Three Chapters. *Vigilius* and *Dacius* of *Milan* declar'd those excommunicated who should receive it; with which the Emperor was so much offended, that he commanded him to be seiz'd: But the People would not suffer that to be done.

After this, Processes being still carried on against him, and Snares laid to catch him, he made his Escape to *Chalcedon*, into the Temple of *Euphemia*, from whence he publish'd a Sentence of Excommunication against *Theodorus* of *Casarea*, and of Interdict against *Mennas*, which he had given six Months before, and sent a circular Letter, wherein he represented the Miseries which he was forc'd to endure.

This Resolution of *Vigilius* brought his Opponents to a better Temper, insomuch that they determin'd to abate something of their Heat. They brought him therefore a Confession of Faith; wherein, having approv'd the Decrees of the four first General Councils, and the Letters of Pope *Leo*, they consent that all the Formularies made for the Condemnation of the Three Chapters, should be put into his Hands; They disown the Reproaches and bad Treatment he might have received;

P. 139.

ceiv'd, and ask his Pardon for having communicated with those whom he had excommunicated. Council V.

*Vigilius* upon this returns to *Constantinople*,<sup>ib.</sup> where he receiv'd a second Confession of Faith, in the Name of *Eutychius* who succeeded *Mennas*, lately dead, in the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*. It was also sign'd by *Apollinaris*, who had been put in the Room of *Zoilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, by the Bishop of *Antioch*, and most of the *Eastern* Bishops. In it they profess'd to adhere inviolably to the Faith decreed in the four first General Councils, and in the Letters of the Popes, and particularly in those of *Leo*; and desir'd that the Affair of the Three Chapters might be decided in an Assembly of Bishops, among whom *Vigilius* should preside. *Vigilius* accepting the Proposal, Du Pin Cent. 6. P. 139. demanded that that Council might be held in *Italy* or *Sicily*; but the Emperor disliking that, *Constantinople* was the Place agreed upon; and that an equal Number of the *Eastern* and *Western* Bishops should be brought thither.

But however this Matter was agreed before the Council, it was not so punctually perform'd at the meeting of it, especially with respect to the Presidentship of *Vigilius*. For when this Council met, *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* was appointed Moderator of it: Which so displeased Pope *Vigilius*, that tho he came to *Constantinople* to summon the Emperor, he would not be present at the Council, lest a seeming yielding to *Eutychius* might be prejudicial to his Supremacy. Frid. Intr. Hist.

The number of Bishops assembled at this Council was 165, according to some; tho Mr. Du Pin Id. ib. Cent. 6. p. 139. says, there were only 147, besides the *Eastern* Patriarchs; and that all the Bishops present in it belonged to their Patriarchates.

In the first meeting of this Council, which was in the Episcopal Pratorium of *Constantinople*, *Theodorus*, Gentleman of the Chamber to the Emperor, presented to the Synod a Letter from the Emperor, in which Mr. Du Pin says, he required the Condemnation of the Three Chapters: Tho Bp. *Prideaux* seems to say he had a quite different See the Lett. Du Pin Cent. 6. p. 139. Intr. Hist.

different View in his calling this Council, viz.  
 ' To reconcile the *Eutychians* and the Orthodox,  
 ' for the publick Tranquillity, by revoking the  
 ' Articles concerning the Condemnation of *Theo-*  
 ' *dorus* of *Mopsuestia*, the Epistle of *Ibas*, and  
 ' the Writings of *Theodore*t against St. *Cyril* : But  
 ' the *Western* Bishops, with Pope *Vigilius*, con-  
 ' stantly oppos'd it, and confirm'd not only the  
 ' Decrees anathematizing those Hereticks, but  
 ' the Hereticks of the four preceding General  
 ' Councils.'

When they had read the Emperor's Letter, *Theo-*  
*dorus* was order'd to retire while they read also the  
 Letter of *Eutychius* to the Pope, and the Answer  
 of *Vigilius* ; in which he consented that a Coun-  
 cil should be held upon the Affair of the Three  
 Chapters, and promised to be present. Upon this a  
 Deputation of three Patriarchs and several Bishops  
 were sent to *Vigilius*, to invite him to the Coun-  
 cil ; but for the Reason before-mentioned he po-  
 sitively refus'd, tho he afterwards sent his Con-  
 sent to their Acts in Writing, as *Evagrius* says.

L. 4. c. 37.

In the following Meetings of this Council,  
 what they did principally was, They condemn'd  
 the Three Chapters ; having first discuss'd that  
 great Question, Whether it was lawful to anathe-  
 matize the Dead ? and pass'd it in the Affirmative.  
 Mr. *Du Pin* says, When the Extracts taken out of  
 the Books of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, and the  
 Creed attributed to him, were read ; the Bishops,  
 without any further Examination, cry'd out Ana-  
 thema against the Writings, against the Creed,  
 and against the Person of *Theodorus* ; an Anathe-  
 ma to those who did not anathematize him.

Cent. 6. p. 141.

Mr. *Du Pin* seems to think, that this Business  
 of the Three Chapters was the whole Employ-  
 ment, and took up all the time of this Council.  
 But some other Authors tell us, that the several  
 Errors of *Origen* about the Trinity, the Plurality  
 of Worlds, and the Pre-existence of Souls, were  
 condemned by it : And that his whimsical Opi-  
 nions, that the Heavens and the Stars are anima-  
 ted ; that the glorified Bodies shall be of a round

Sym. Ch. Hist.

Prid. Intr. Hist.

Figure ;

## The Second Council of Constantinople.

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Figure ; and that the Torments of the Damned shall have an end, were utterly exploded. Council V.

However, the same Mr. *De Pin* tells us, That in the last Conference of this Fifth General Council, after they had prov'd the Necessity of Ecclesiastical Assemblies and Conferences for the Decision of Matters of Faith, by the Example of the Apostles and the four first Councils, they made a Recapitulation of the whole. After which they made Profession of receiving the four first General Councils, and of anathematizing the Errors and Persons whom they condemn'd, and to whom were added the Person and Writings of *Theodorus*, the Writings of *Theodorer*, and the Letter of *Ibas*, who were anathematiz'd, together with those who undertook to write in Defence of these three Articles. He further tells us, That this General Decree was follow'd with fourteen Anathema's against particular Errors, most of them about the Incarnation ; the three last of which were against the Three Chapters in particular : And Bp. *Prideaux* says, *Peter of Antioch*, who pleaded for the Crucifix to be added to the Hymn of the Trinity ; *Anthemius of Constantinople*, with *Theodora* the Empress and others, that favour'd the *Eutychian* Party, were comprehended under the same Censure : And Mr. *Simpson* says, that in this Council also, *Theodorus Ascidas* with the Monks of *Nova Laura* were particularly specified, and condemn'd for maintaining the Principles and Opinions of *Origen*. Cent. 6. p. 144.

There are extant eight Collations of this Council, and fourteen Canons which are all contain'd in their Anathema's, according to Bp. *Prideaux* ; tho Mr. *Collier* says, that neither this, nor the following Councils made any Canons, and that the *Quinisex Council*, or the Council in *Trullo*, was call'd afterwards to supply that Defect. Intr. Hist. Ecc. Hist. B. 2. p. 113.



Of the Third Council of Constantinople,  
being the Sixth General Council.



THE Sixth General Council, being the Third of *Constantinople*, was held in that City, by the Command of *Constantinus Pogonatus* the Emperor, so called from his bringing home with him a long Beard from the Wars, whereas he went forth without one. This Council was assembled in the 12th Year of that Emperor, and of our Lord 781, according to some; tho Mr. *Du Pin* says it was a year sooner, and yet makes it in the 13th of that Emperor, notwithstanding he began his Reign in 769.

In the time of that Emperor, about the Year 678, the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, or those who maintain'd but *One Will*, viz. the *Divine*, to be in *Christ*, was very rife: And the *Eutychian* Doctrines also were stiffly defended by *Athanasius* of *Jerusalem*, *Macarius* of *Antioch*, *Gregory*, *Sergius*, and *Pyrrhus* of *Constantinople*, and some others; which occasion'd a great Division between the *Eastern* and the *Western* Churches. To reconcile which, the Emperor *Pogonatus* wrote a Letter to Pope *Donus* (who he thought was alive) for the calling of a Council. But *Donus* being dead, that Letter was deliver'd to *Agathon* his Successor, who immediately held a Council of 125 Bishops at *Rome*, in which they condemn'd the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*; and defining the Doctrine of two Wills in *Jesus Christ*, the Deputies of the Holy See and of the Council departed to carry the Decision to *Constantinople*. Being arriv'd there, the Emperor summon'd the Patriarchs, with the Bishops of their respective Patriarchates, to a Council; which was held accordingly in the *November* following, viz. in the Year 780 or 781, and was concluded in *September* the Year after, having had eighteen Sessions during that time.

In

Bull. l. i. c. 24.  
Sym. Ch. Hist.

Id. ib.  
Cent. 7. p. 66.

Frid. Intr. Hist.  
Bull. l. i. c. 24.

Id. ib.

Du Pin Cent. 7.  
p. 66.

Id. ib.

## The Third Council of Constantinople.

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In this Council the Emperor himself presided, Council VI. and was present at the eleven first Sessions, and at the last; which Mr. *Du Pin* owns: And the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Antioch* were there in Person; those of *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Jerusalem* by their Deputies, and all the *Western* Bishops were represented by three Bishops sent by the Council of *Rome*, with several Bishops of the *East*; in all 150: For as Bishop *Prideaux* says, they who count 279 or 289, reckon the absent *Romans* and others consenting thereto.

Prid. Intr. Hist.  
See Du Pin.

The most remarkable Transactions of this Council were these. The Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Antioch* were accus'd of teaching that there was but one Will in *Jesus Christ*; which *Macarius* of *Antioch* publickly and strenuously maintain'd in the Council; but the Patriarch of *Constantinople* retracted, with all the Bishops of his Patriarchate, except *Theodorus* of *Meletinum*.

*Macarius* nevertheless persisted in his Opinion, and at last in the 17th Session of this Council, they publish'd a Decision, That there are two Natural Wills and two Operations in *Jesus Christ*, in one only Person, without Division, Mixture or Change; That these two Wills are not contrary, but the *Human* Will follows the *Divine* Will, and is entirely subject to it. By this Decision they prohibit teaching any other Doctrine, under Pain of Deposition to the Bishops and Clerks, and of Excommunication to the Laity.

Du Pin Cent. 7.  
P. 70.

In this 17th Session they also received the Definitions of the five first General Councils, and particularly that of the Fifth General Council against *Origen*, against *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, &c. They recited the Creeds of *Nice* and *Constantinople*, and approv'd the Definition of the Council held at *Rome* by *Agatho*, against the *Monothelites*.

Id. ib.

These Definitions are sign'd by the three Legates of Pope *Agatho*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Legates of *Alexandria* and *Jerusalem*, the new Patriarch of *Antioch* (for *Macarius* had been deposed in the 8th Session of this Council) by the Legates of the Archbishop of *Thessalonica*, *Cyprus* and

and *Ravenna*, by the Deputies of the Council of *Rome*, and all the Bishops present, except *Macarius* and two other Bishops, *Stephen* and *Polychronius*, who had been deposed during the Celebration of that Council.

Sym. Ch. Hist.

It is to be observ'd that *Macarius* Patriarch of *Antioch*, in his Defence before this Council, had confirm'd his Opinion, by the Authority of *Honorius* sometime Bishop of *Rome*; whose Letters to *Sergius* sometime also Bishop of *Constantinople*, with *Sergius's* Answers to them, being read, it appear'd plainly that that Bishop and *Sergius* both, with several others deceas'd at that time, had been *Monothelites*. Upon which this Council pronounc'd an *Anathema* against both the Antient and Modern Hereticks, particularly naming *Sergius*, *Cyrus*, *Pyrrhus*, *Peter*, *Paul*, *Theodorus*, together with *Honorius* Bishop of *Rome*, who is always named with the Patriarch *Monothelites*, as Mr. Du Pin himself acknowledges. A certain Argument, that however infallible the *Roman Pontiffs* may now be, they were not always so, and that one of them at least has been anathematiz'd.

Cent. 7. p. 60.

This is the Sum and Substance of the Acts of the Sixth Council, in the Reign of *Constantinus Pogenatus*, of which he caused five Copies to be made, for the five Patriarchal Churches: And presently after the Council, set out his Edict against the *Monothelites*, appointing them divers Punishments; Deposition, or rather Suspension, against Clerks and Monks; Proscription, and Deprivation of Employments, against Persons constituted in Charge and Dignity; and Banishment from all the Towns of the Empire, against private Persons. *A Royal Example, and worthy the Imitation of Christian Princes!*

Ib. p. 71.

As for the Canons of this Council, the Reader is to expect no more from it, than were made by the former, according to Mr. Collier, i. e. just none: Tho there are who make the subsequent Council in *Trullo* as it were an Appendix to it; and if so, there are more Canons of this Council, than of all the General Councils before it,

But

But before we dismiss this sixth General Council, it will be necessary to observe, that tho this Council under *Constantinus Pogonatus* is commonly reckon'd one of the Councils acknowledged by the Antients to be General; there are some Writers of great Authority who rather give that Title to the next succeeding Council, held at *Constantinople*, under the Reign of *Justinian* the Second: And this they say was the sixth General Council, not *That* in the Reign of *Pogonatus*. Among the Writers who are of this Opinion, is the Right Reverend and Judicious Bishop *Beveridge*: For he says thus; The sixth General Council is that which is commonly called the *Trullan* Council, gathered together by *Justinian* the Son of *Constantinus Pogonatus*. And of this the Reader may be pleas'd to take the following Account. In the 7th Year of *Justinian* the Second, the Council in his Father's time, and that in the time of *Justinian* the First, having made no Canons for the Discipline of the Church, which was now very much relax'd; he resolv'd to call a Council for the better Restoration of it, by renewing the antient Canons, and making a kind of a Body of the Canon Law for the *Eastern* Churches. To this end he regathered the same Fathers, as many as could be got, who had been in the preceding Council, to compleat the Work they had begun, by regulating as they had before Mens Faith, so now their Practices. And this Council sat about the Year 692 at *Constantinople* also, and in *Trullo*, i. e. in an Apartment of the Emperor's Palace covered like a Dome, called *Trullus*; from whence this was named the *Trullan Council*.

Art. p. 252.

Du Pin Cent 7.  
P. 85.

Id. ib.  
Coll. Ecc. Hist.  
P. 113. vol. 1.

The Judicious and Learned Mr. *Collier* tells us that this Council consisted of about 180 Bishops (Mr. *Du Pin* says but 108; I suppose only to undervalue this Council, for several Reasons) besides the *Eastern* Patriarchs: but that the Pope's Legates were not there. He tells us also that this Assembly is reckon'd a General Council by *Balsamon* and the *Greek* Church, tho *Baronius* (to whom we may add Mr. *Du Pin* and almost all the *Latins* in general) will not allow it that Title.

In



Dist. 16.  
Prid. Int. Hist.

Cent. 7. p. 85, &c.

P. 86.

Ec. Hist. p. 113.  
vol. 1.

Ib. p. 86.

Ib. p. 89.

In this Council 102 Canons of Discipline were ratified according to Mr. *Du Pin* and others; several of which are in direct Opposition to the Practice of the Modern *Latin Church*; tho they were so agreeable to the Sentiments of the Antient, that *Gratian* says this Synod was receiv'd by the Fathers of the 2d *Nicene Council*.

The Heads of all those Canons are set down by Mr. *Du Pin*, from whence we may easily see the great occasion of their Anger. The Canons of this Council, which shock the *Romanists* most, are the 13th, 36th and 55th.

The 13th, Mr. *Du Pin* says, prohibits the Separation of Presbyters, Deacons or Sub-deacons from their Wives, or binding them to Continency, before they be ordain'd; and Mr. *Collier* says, which is more, That the Restraint of the *Roman Church* upon the Clergy is censur'd by Name in the Canon, and the Marriage of Priests justified from St. *Matthew*, the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. They likewise urge the *Apostles Canons* in Defence of this Liberty; and at last the Fathers conclude, *That if any Person shall presume to procure a Separation between Priests, or Deacons, and their Wives, the Penalty is Degradation. And if any Priest, or Deacon, shall part with his Wife, upon the score of Religion, or any Inconsistency of that State with his Orders, he is to be struck out of the List of the Clergy, and forfeit his Character.*

The 36th, Mr. *Du Pin* says, renews the Canons of the Councils of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*, concerning the Authority of the See of the Church of *Constantinople*; and grants to it the same Privileges as to the See of old *Rome*, the same Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and the 2d Place, &c. This is a Canon also very hardly to be dispens'd with by the *Romanists*.

The 55th Canon of this Council displeases them not less than the former. This Canon Mr. *Du Pin* says, ordains, That the Canon forbidding to fast on *Saturday* and *Sunday* shall be observed in the Church of *Rome*, as well as in other Churches:

But

But Mr. Collier is somewhat more full: For he says the Canon runs thus; *Being inform'd that 'tis the Practice at Rome to fast upon Saturdays in Lent contrary to the received Custom of the Church, the Holy Synod has thought fit to decree the Revival of the Apostles Canon upon the Roman See; by which 'tis declar'd, that if any Clergyman shall fast, either upon the Lords Day or Saturday (unless one Saturday, i. e. Easter-Eve) he is to be degraded; and if a Lay-man, excommunicated.* Upon which he makes the following Reflection: This Canon not only charges the Church of Rome with Innovation, and condemns her Practice; but likewise brings that See within the Jurisdiction of the Council, asserts an Authority paramount to that of the Pope, binds him to a Submission to their Decisions, and degrades him in Case of Non-compliance. For the rest of these Canons, we refer the Reader to Mr. Du Pin. And no wonder then, if having such Provocations, the *Romanists* disallow this to have been one of the General Councils, or however one of the Orthodox; tho indeed this is one Reason why we may reckon it such: Because it was summon'd as a supplemental Provision to the Fifth and Sixth General Councils held before, from whence it was called *Quinisextum* or the *Quinifex Council*, than which none before it was more unanimous in their Consent, or more Orthodox in their Definitions, as will appear to any one who peruses their 2d Canon.

Coll. ib.



of



Of the Seventh General Council, being the  
Second Council of Nice.

HE second *Nicene* Council is generally allow'd to be the seventh General Council; tho Mr. *Sympfon* reckons another before it, viz. a fourth Council held at *Constantinople*, under *Constantinus Copronymus*, or *Constantine* the fourth of that Name: And this Council, consisting of 338 Bishops, he says, was assembled by the Command of that Prince, in the Year 755 (Mr. *Du Pin* says in 754) in order to abolish the Worship of Images, which for some time before had prevailed mightily in the *East*. What *Copronymus* design'd, he also effected by the means of this Council: For in it several Defenders and Champions of Image-Worship were condemn'd, and a Decree made against the Use and Worship of them. However, as Mr. *Sympfon* observes, tho they abolish'd one, they introduc'd another Superstition, not less dangerous in the Consequence than the former: For in the 15th and 17th Canons of this Council, which are 19 in Number, they allow of the Invocation of Saints. But this Council was not receiv'd in the Church of *Rome*; tho a great Part of the *Eastern* Churches received it, by the Emperor's Authority, and put the Decree against Images in Execution; till at last the Reins of Government came into the Hands of *Irene* the Empress, Widow to *Leo* the 3d, Mother and Guardian to *Constantine* the 5th, being a Minor; and she (to ingratiate herself with the *West*, which she found was grown the stronger side) was resolv'd, if possible, to restore the Custom of Image-Worship. And to this end, by the Advice of *Tarasius*, whom the Emperor and herself had caused to be chosen Patriarch of *Constantinople*, she assembled another Council, to disannul the

De-

Ch. Hist.

Cent. 8. p. 133.

Symp. Ch. Hist.

Prid. Int. Hist.

Decree made against Images, in the Reign of *Copronymus*. To this Council she invited Pope *Adrian*, who sent two Priests as his Deputies to *Constantinople*, where this Council was design'd to meet; and did meet in the Year 786 according to Mr. *Du Pin*, others say in 788, till the Soldiers besieg'd the Bishops, and requir'd with Threatnings that no Council should be held. Hereupon they were forced to separate for that time: But in the latter End of the next Year they were assembled again at *Nice*, by the same Authority, when the Pope's Legates held the first Place, the Patriarch of *Constantinople* held the Second, the Deputies of the *Eastern* Bishops the Third, and after them the Bishops of *Casarea*, *Ephesus* and *Cyprus*, with 250 Archbishops or Bishops, and above 100 Priests or Monks. Two Commissioners also from the Emperor and Empress assisted at it.

Cent. 8. p. 134.  
Sym. Ch. Hist.

The second Council of *Nice* being assembled in the Church of *St. Sophia*, after having read the Letter of the Empress *Irene* and the Emperor, declaring them a Free Council, *Basil* Bishop of *Ancyra*, *Theodorus* of *Myra* and *Theodosius* of *Amorium* presented a Petition to them, declaring Sorrow for having condemn'd Image-Worship, in the Synod assembled by *Constantinus Copronymus*; and were receiv'd.

*Du Pin* Cent. 8.  
p. 134.

Sym. Ch. Hist.

After these *Hypatius* Bishop of *Nice* and four others, presented themselves to be receiv'd upon the same Score. But before these could be receiv'd, it was debated in what Quality they should be receiv'd. And here a long Dispute arising, it was at last concluded that they were to be receiv'd, and keep their Dignity.

*Du Pin* Cent. 8.  
p. 134.

In another Action of this Council, the Letters of Pope *Adrian* to *Constantine* and *Tarasius* the Patriarch were read. These import his Approbation of Image-Worship, to which *Tarasius*, then present, declar'd his Assent, and all the Bishops made the same Declaration.

Id. ib. ]

All the other Actions of this Council, which were seven in all, are much of a piece, all tending to the Establishment of Image-Worship; only that in the 4th it is observable, That those Testimo-

See *Du Pin* ib.



Cent. 8. p. 135

nies of the Scripture and the Fathers, whereby they pretended the Worship of Images to be authoriz'd, are so far from evincing that Doctrine, that they are the fullest Evidences of the Falshood and Impertinency of it: as may be clearly seen in Mr. *Du Pin's* ingenuous Account of them; to which we refer the Reader.

Nothing else was remarkable of this Council, except the wording of the Confession, in the end whereof it is defin'd, 'That the Holy and Venerable Images may be expos'd to the Sight, as well as the Cross, both those which are made in Colours upon Cloth, and those of another Kind; that they may be placed in Churches, set upon Sacred Vessels, upon Sacerdotal Vestments, upon the Walls and Tables, in Houses, and in the Highways, viz. The Images of *Jesus Christ* and the Virgin, of the Angels and Saints; that they are useful to remember Men of 'em, and to renew the Desire of the Saints; that they may be kissed and reverenced, but not ador'd with the true Adoration, due to God alone; that Incense and Wax-Candles may be burnt before them, as they are before the Cross; because the Reverence paid to them passeth to their Object; and they that honour them, honour those represented by them.'

There are 22 Canons of this Council yet extant. In the first they confirm the Decisions and Laws of former Councils.

In the 2d it is order'd that when one is made a Bishop, he shall be examin'd if he know the Psalter, the Gospels, the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and the Canons, and if he is capable of instructing the People.

The 3d declares all Elections of Bishops and Priests null, that are made by Princes, and orders a Bishop to be elected by Bishops.

The 4th is against Bishops who take Money to depose or excommunicate.

The 5th confirms the Canon Laws against Simoniacks.

The 6th renews the Canon of the Council of *Nice* about holding of Provincial Councils.

The 7th orders, that Relicks of Saints shall be

put

put into Churches that have been consecrated without them, and that none shall be consecrated for the future without putting Relicks of Saints in them.

The 8th forbids admitting or baptizing of *Jews*, unless they are thorowly converted.

The 9th orders, that the Writings against the Worship of Images shall be shut up in the Patriarchs Palace with the Heretical Books.

The 10th forbids the Admission of Clerks into Chappels or Churches, without Permission from their Bishop.

The 11th orders Stewards to be in all Churches, and allows the Bishop of *Constantinople* to put them into the Churches of Metropolitans, if they should neglect to do it. The same is appointed for Monasteries.

The 12th forbids Bishops and Abbots to sell or give away unwarrantably the Goods of their Churches or Monasteries.

The 13th orders Monasteries and Episcopal Houses to be repair'd, and that they shall no more be us'd as Inns.

The 14th forbids such Children as have receiv'd the Tonsure, but not the Imposition of Hands, to read in the Desk. It allows Abbots who are Priests to make Lecturers for their Monasteries only : It likewise allows the *Chorepiscopi* to ordain them.

The 15th forbids Clerks to be inscrib'd in two Churches.

The 16th forbids Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks to wear fine Garments, to make them taken notice of. It orders those to be punish'd who mock Clergymen for their simple Habits.

The 17th forbids to undertake to build Oratories or Chappels, without a sufficient Fund to defray the Charges of them.

The 18th forbids Women to live in Bishops Houses or Monasteries.

The 19th forbids taking any thing for Orders, or for Entrance into Monasteries, on Pain of Deposition to Bishops and Priests ; of Expulsion, to Abbesses, and Abbots not being Priests. It allows Persons receiv'd into Monasteries, or their Rela-

itions, to make voluntary Gifts, on Condition that those Gifts remain to the Monasteries, whether he that enters lives there, or goes away, unless the Superiors are the Cause of his Departure.

The 20th forbids making double Monasteries of Men and Women; and orders that the Monks and Nuns who are settled shall live in different Houses; that they must not see one another, or have any Society together.

The 21st forbids Monks to quit their own Monasteries to go to others.

The last forbids Monks to eat with Women, unless for Spiritual Good, or in Company with Relations, or on a Journey.



Of the Fourth Council of Constantinople,  
commonly call'd the Eighth General Council.

Art P. 254.

**W**E come now to speak something of the Eighth General Council, which, properly speaking, was the Fourth of *Constantinople*. Bp. *Beveridge* says, the Eighth General Council was gather'd together at *Constantinople* by the Emperor *Basil*; and he cites the Authority of the Acts of that Council to prove it: 'For so, says he, we read in the Prologue to the Acts of that Council; By the Will of God administering and assisting, and by the Decree of our Christ-loving and Divinely Governing Great Emperor *Basil*: For he gathering together the General Council, did piously fulfil such Things as seemed good to the Holy Ghost.' And if this be sufficient to prove this one of the FAMOUS General Councils of the *Greeks*, (and we are giving an Account of those Councils only;) this was one of those famous Councils. But Bp. *Pri-deaux*, tho he says this fourth Council at *Constantinople* was assembled under *Basil*; he also says it was assembled under *Basil* the Murderer of the *Greek* Emperors, and *Adrian* the Second usurping the

## The Fourth Council of Constantinople.

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the *Roman* See, notwithstanding the Opposition of the *Roman* Emperor. And for this Reason it is, as may be conceiv'd, that he places this Council in the number of the *controverted* General Councils. Coun. VIII.

However, as that learned Bp. *Beveridge*, and some others, gives this Council a Place among the *Oecumenical* or General Councils, and hold none to have been General after this; it cannot be a Fault to inlist this Council, upon that great Authority, in the number of the more famous general Councils. Sym. Ch. Hist.

This eighth General Council assembled at *Constantinople* in the Year 869, as Mr. *Du Pin* says, tho others say in 871, when *Lewis II.* (the *Western* Empire being now intirely divided from the *Eastern*) was Emperor of the *West*. The occasion of this Council was thus: *Ignatius* Son of the Emperor *Michael Curopalata*, and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, having somewhat freely reprimanded, and refused to admit to the Sacraments, one *Bardas*, Brother to the Empress *Theodota*, who had a great Share in the Government; because he was in-Love with and had debauch'd his Daughter in Law: *Bardas* was so much incens'd, that he resolv'd Revenge; tho he defer'd it till a convenient Season, which offer'd in time: For *Bardas* not many Years after persuaded the young Emperor *Michael* to take upon him the Empire, and to shut his Mother and Sisters up in a Nunnery; and the Experor ordering the Patriarch to do it, he refus'd. This *Bardas* took for a convenient Season to execute his Revenge upon *Ignatius*; and thereupon charging him with favouring the Rebellion of a Man, who call'd himself the Son of *Theodota* by another Husband, he procur'd the Banishment of *Ignatius* to the Island of *Terebinthus*: But before his Departure, the Emperor requir'd *Ignatius* to resign; which that Patriarch refusing to do, *Michael* put *Phorius*, a Man of principal Dignity, who had been prime Secretary of State, Captain of the Guards, and Senator, a notable Politician and very learned, into his Place.

*Ignatius*

Du Pin Cent. 9.  
4. Con. Const.



*Ignatius* being thus out of the way, *Photius* gather'd a Synod, declar'd the Deposition of *Ignatius*, and anathematiz'd his Person: But willing to have his Judgment authoriz'd by the Bishop of *Rome*, he sent two Bishops thither to Pope *Nicholas I.* desiring him to send his Legates to *Constantinople*, to restore Church Discipline, and quash the Remains of the *Iconoclasts*. The Pope accordingly sent two Legates to *Constantinople*, where they were present at a Council of 318 Bishops, to which *Ignatius* was summon'd, and appear'd the first Session; when being press'd to resign, he refus'd: But when brought by force a second time he still persisted, the Council pronounced Sentence of Deposition against him. After this *Ignatius* was closely confin'd, and forc'd to sign an Instrument of Resignation, and Confession that he had been unduly prefer'd to that Dignity. This they wanted to have him read in publick, but he found means to escape their Hands before he did it.

Having thus escap'd, he sent a Petition of Appeal to the Pope; and the Emperor on the other hand wrote to *Rome*, to get the Deposition of *Ignatius* ratified there. But the Pope contrary to that, declar'd *Photius* depriv'd of the Priesthood, and order'd the restoring of *Ignatius*. Hereupon, *Photius* perswaded the Emperor *Michael* to assemble a Council at *Constantinople*, in which he caus'd the Pope to be accus'd, depos'd, and excommunicated.

But the Year after, *Basil*, having kill'd *Michael*, restor'd *Ignatius*, and banish'd *Photius* into a Monastery. Whereupon *Ignatius* excommunicated *Photius*, and desir'd of the Emperor that a General Council might be summon'd: Which was accordingly done.

This Council being met at the time appointed, and consisting only of 100 Bishops in all, great Policy was us'd that all things might be done to the Satisfaction of *Adrian* the 2d, then Bishop of *Rome*: For no Man was admitted into this Council, who did not first own and subscribe to the Pope's Supremacy. So, says Mr. *Sympson*, did the Authority

## The Fourth Council of Constantinople.

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Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* proceed to Coun. VIII. further Growth, by the Flattery of *Basilius* who slew *Michael* his Associate : as it was founded in the Flattery of *Boniface* the 3d, who flatter'd that vile Murderer *Phocas*, who slew his Master *Mauritius*.

*Donatus* and *Stephen* Legates to Pope *Adrian* Du Pin Cent. 9. the 2d, presided in this Council, in which *Photius* 4 Con. Const. was depos'd and excommunicated, and his Books which he wrote against the Pope's Supremacy commanded to be burnt. One Accusation against *Photius* was, that he had accepted the Office of a Sym. Ch. Hist. Bishop, before he had receiv'd other Ecclesiastical Orders. To this *Photius* answer'd, That there were several Precedents of the like Nature : That *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan*, *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, in former Days ; and *Tarasius* Patriarch of the same See, in latter Days, of Laicks were made Bishops, with the Consent of the Bishop of *Rome*. Here the Legates reply'd, That *Ambrose* had extraordinary Gifts ; *Nectarius* was call'd at an extraordinary Time, when Heresy so prevail'd, that it was hard to find a Man unspotted with it ; and that the Advancement of *Tarasius* was for a special Cause, in regard he was a zealous Maintainer of Image-worship. An Argument that if *Photius* had been one of those, the Legality of his Consecration had not been disputed !

In this Council also, the worshipping of Images got a new Allowance, and several Regulations were made for establishing Peace and Discipline in the *Eastern Church*, and for ordering in time to come the Election of Patriarchs and Bishops.

By this Council also, the *Bulgarians* were made subject to the Bishop of *Rome* ; and *Ignatius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in regard he was restor'd to his Patriarchate by means of that Bishop, made no Opposition. Sym. Ch. Hist.

The Regulations made by this Council are contain'd in 27 Canons, the Heads of which are set down by Mr. *Du Pin* in his Account of this Council, to which the Reader is referr'd.

But

Ch. Hist.

But before we conclude this Eighth and Last General Council, one Observation of Mr. Symson's is worthy Notice. In the Subscription of the Acts of this Council, there were very hot Debates: For the *Grecians* could not endure the Name of *Lewis* Emperor of the *West*; because they thought the Name of an Emperor belong'd only to their own Sovereign, the Emperor of *Constantinople*. And this Controversy run so high, that many, even after they had subscribed to the Supremacy of the Pope, re-demanded their Subscriptions, alledging this for the Reason, That by their owning such Supremacy, the Church of *Constantinople* would be in perpetual Subjection to the Papal Chair. And the same Author tells us, that these Subscriptions were return'd, but with great Difficulty.

F I N I S.



## ERRATA in the Second Volume.

PAGE 13. line 22. dele *He*. p. 26. l. 18. for *their* r. *there*.  
 p. 29. l. 9. r. *pretence*. p. 74. l. 13. r. *liberty*. p. 133.  
 l. 1. and p. 136. l. 5. for *he* r. *she*. p. 212. l. 25. r. *ones*.  
 p. 215. l. 2. dele *and*. p. 241. l. 31. r. *Transubstantiation*.  
 p. 243. l. 43. for *an* r. *and*. p. 245. l. 17. r. *communicated*.  
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 34. r. *Pachomius*. p. 426. l. 14. r. *Fabiola*.

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